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## Southeast Asia Report

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22 February 1985

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AUSTRALIA

HAYDEN OUTLINES REFORMS IN MIND FOR UN

Perth THE WEST AUSTRALIAN in English 5 Jan 85 p 2

[Text] Canberra: Australia intends to push for widespread reforms in the operations of the United Nations.

It will attempt to use its influence as a member of the U.N. Security Council-Australia's two-year term began on January 1--to have the reforms accepted.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, outlined the moves in a four-page statement issued here yesterday.

Last month Mr Hayden warned that Australia would use its position in the Security Council to seek progress on nuclear disarmament, greater respect for human rights and to work constructively for peace.

Mediator

Yesterday Mr Hayden said he would like to see the U.N. Secretary-General playing a bigger role as mediator in international conflicts.

Australia also wants:

--The Security Council to lay down the timing and locations for negotiations aimed at ending disputes.

--To encourage resolutions to the Council which are intended only to score political points.

--More informal and private sessions of the Council to allow it to carry out "quiet diplomacy" with parties to disputes.

Mr Hayden said: "Australia will aim to ensure that the Secretary-General be given specific and realistic tasks."

Australia would propose that a body of military advisers be formed to help the Secretary-General deal with international conflict.

"These officers could come from a representative range of countries," he said.

"They could serve on the Secretary-General's behalf in potentially dangerous situations, thereby enhancing the U.N.'s capacity to monitor and even prevent hostilities."

Mr Hayden said that the difficulties involved in achieving the reforms had to be recognised.

They would need the agreement of the five permanent members of the Security Council, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, France and Britain.

A Foreign Affairs Department official said yesterday that the reforms would not be achieved easily or immediately.

He said that the permanent Security Council members, who held the power of veto, would consider them carefully.

The Soviet Union and France are believed to be opposed to an independent role for the Secretary-General.

**CSO: 4200/474**

AUSTRALIA

PARIS PAPER CITES AUSTRALIA'S HAYDEN ON KANAKS

PM071539 Paris LE MATIN in French 30 Jan 85 p 2

[Interview with Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden by special correspondent Jean-Paul Mari in Canberra--date not specified]

[Excerpts] [Mari] Some people in France wonder whether receiving Jean-Marie Tjibaou [chairman of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front of New Caledonia], president of an illegal government under French law, constitutes interference by Australia in French internal affairs.

[Hayden] There is no interference on Australia's part. We do not get involved in other countries' affairs, and certainly not in the internal affairs of metropolitan France. Jean-Marie Tjibaou was received as a representative of the Kanaks and not as a representative of a self-proclaimed government which we do not recognize.

[Mari] Why do you favor independence for New Caledonia?

[Hayden] I can only repeat what Edgard Pisani [New Caledonia government-delegate and high commissioner] said: The history of the last 40 years has shown that when a people aspire to independence, the result can only be independence. Does this mean we are giving lectures on morality? Certainly not! I do not think it would be immodest to say that our withdrawal from Papua New Guinea, the way in which we kept up our development aid, and the major economic commitments which we took on, are a model of how this kind of problem can and should be handled.

[Mari] Would you wish a French presence (particularly a military presence) to be maintained in the South Pacific?

[Hayden] It is up to the people of New Caledonia to decide in the July referendum, provided that the Pisani plan is accepted. After independence, what will France's presence and influence be? Once again, it is not up to a foreign country like ours to judge. But when I have had occasion to meet with Kanaks, I have often spoken of the need to maintain links with France and the need for French economic support for New Caledonia. If economic ties disappeared, I find it very hard to see what could effectively fill this gap. Consequently France should remain on good terms with the Kanaks.

[Mari] Francois Mitterrand has announced that the New Caledonia military base will be strengthened.

[Hayden] I am not disturbed or worried by the French military presence in the region as long as it does not involve nuclear experiments.

[Mari] Are you not afraid that Kanak independence in New Caledonia opens the way for penetration by hostile foreign powers into the region?

[Hayden] Let us get this clear. I have reminded the Kanak representatives several times that any settlement must be multiracial, and Jean-Marie Tjibaou assured me that it is not the Kanaks' wish to see foreign powers appearing in the region. He also assured me that an independent Kanaky would prefer to develop good relations with neighboring countries rather than with far-away countries. If the French military presence reassures some people who would otherwise be afraid of independence, I think that presence will be very positive.

[Mari] What do you think of the thesis put forward by Mr Munz, prime minister of Queensland, on a New Caledonia transformed into a new Cuba?

[Hayden] Nobody except Mr Munz takes this hypothesis seriously. If things proceed normally, links with France will be maintained. If difficulties occur, it will be because the situation has been mismanaged.

[Mari] What is the state of French-Australian relations?

[Hayden] There are areas of tension, in particular with regard to the nuclear tests at Mururoa which give rise to understandable waves of protest. But on the New Caledonia problem I see no serious problems.

CSO: 3519/184

AUSTRALIA

**CHANGE IN POLITICAL LANDSCAPE ANALYZED**

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 1 Jan 85 p 9

[Article by David O'Reilly]

[Text]

THE DYING weeks of 1984 saw a federal election result rupture many of the conventional wisdoms that had begun to settle across the national political landscape in the preceding 12 months.

History may ultimately record that the Orwellian year ended with an election contest punctuated by a series of political blunders that reshaped the fate of the Government of Robert James Lee Hawke.

At year's end the halo of Australia's most popular politician ever had firmly slipped. In contrast, Andrew Peacock had walked the valley of political death — and survived.

And the worldwide populist movement, obsessed with what some believe is a political issue above all issues — nuclear disarmament — had arrived in Australia to shake the foundations of the Hawke Government to its electoral boot laces.

At the dawn of 1984 Bob Hawke had been Mr '79 per cent, straddling, unchallenged, a revitalised Labor Party heading confidently into its second year in office.

And the conservative parties could only look on aghast as the Hawke popularity poll juggernaut enveloped the heart and mind of Middle Australia.

But just a year later an election result that no one expected has changed all that.

It may not have had the emotional upheaval of 1975 or even the sudden change of 1983, but 1984 certainly had its moments of high political drama.

Federal ministers resigned or stepped down from Cabinet or the ministry, the cancerous crime row threatened to destroy the Wran Government and then engulf the Hawke administration, pensioners found themselves puppets of the political propaganda war over the assets test and the superannuation test, racism loomed like a ghost of the past and 30-year-old questions about the legendary Petrov Affair were finally answered.

In January, Mr Hawke journeyed abroad and talked in Asia about the need to restructure domestic industries to mesh in with the ASEAN connection.

On the other side of politics Ian Sinclair beat off a challenge by Stephen Lusher — who, incidentally, would lose his seat in Parliament by year's end — to succeed the retiring Doug Anthony as National Party leader.

Meanwhile, Mr Hawke broadened the scope of his talks with the leaders of China, Japan and Singapore to begin negotiations for big steel trade deals and the long-awaited entry of foreign banks to Australia.

February saw the seeds of long-term problems for the Government sown when election results in Corangamite, Hughes and Richmond went

against it, agonising reviews of the contentious assets test began behind closed doors and a row brewed over an unnamed federal judge who was allegedly on the infamous *Age* tapes.

In March the tempo of the federal row over crime quickened when High Court Judge Lionel Murphy was identified as the judge and the Opposition began to mount concerted parliamentary attacks with an eye to the March 24 State election in NSW.

### Cancerous crime row

The Opposition strategy team, headed by Mr Sinclair, probed in Parliament and demanded a royal commission into the *Age* tapes.

In the end the Government decided to co-operate with a Senate inquiry under its own conditions rather than fight the matter, but hard heads in the ALP feared where the wildcat Senate investigation could lead.

By mid-year storm clouds of discontent began to appear over Andrew Peacock's leadership of the Opposition with party sources privately claiming he was proving as ineffectual in the party room as he was in Parliament.

In May the immigration row blew into a major issue with the Government forced to de-

fend quotas of Asian migrants and the Opposition delicately trying to make political capital without being accused of racism.

In June the Prime Minister chose to miss all State ALP conferences as he readied himself for the July showdown at the biennial national conference over crucial issues including uranium and the re-affiliation of four right-wing Victorian trade unions.

In the end, Foreign Minister Bill Hayden's Centre Left grouping voted with the right wing forces of the Prime Minister to give Mr Hawke important victories at the conference.

In late July the Special Minister of State, Mick Young, was forced to stand down from the ministry while a Melbourne QC investigated the Paddington Bear affair. Pundits predicted his political demise only months after coming back from a six-month suspension for improperly releasing information to a friend about the Ivanov affair.

But the next month Young was back, completely exonerated, removing a major worry for the Prime Minister as he brought down budget tax cuts of \$7.60, increases in pensions and the dole and a big cut in the deficit as the scene became set for an end-of-year election.

As it became clearer Mr Hawke was intent on an early poll, September saw the organised crime issue reach boiling point.

The Director of Public Prosecutions, Mr Temby, launched his own inquiries into Justice Murphy's behavior and an independent commission was established in the Senate to look into the matter.

On September 13 Mr Peacock, caught in the emotion of a heated parliamentary attack, accused Mr Hawke of being a "little crook" and a perverter of the law.

Parliament erupted with claims about Mr Justice Murphy's dealings, the alleged efforts of one of Mr Hawke's aides to suppress a newspaper story, and climaxed with a government minister, Senator Walsh, becoming the first government leader censured by the Senate in 10 years over one of his outbursts.

Mr Hawke threatened Mr Peacock with a law suit over the "little crook" jibe and at a Canberra press conference on September 20 broke down and cried as he launched an emotional counter-attack to charges that he had protected criminals in the drug trade.

Media magnate Kerry Packer confirmed he was the big businessman referred to in the Costigan Report and September drew to a close with key archival documents offering no evidence to support the theory that Sir Robert Menzies had manipulated the timing of the defection of diplomat Vladimir Petrov to embarrass the ALP at the 1954 election.

After demanding Mr Peacock put up or shut up, and witnessing the collapse of the Opposition leader's crime assault in Parliament, Mr Hawke announced in October a seven-week election campaign — the longest in the history of the country.

Poor performances from Mr Peacock raised again the spectre of his removal as Liberal leader after the poll, but Mr Hawke embraced the long campaign despite major wild cards — the continuing Murphy Senate probe and the imminent release of the long-awaited Costigan Royal Commission Report.

## Peacock wins a reprieve

On November 1 the Costigan Report recommended investigations of Mr Packer and called for sweeping changes to the way law enforcement agencies fight organised criminal involvement in illicit drugs, tax evasions, corporate crime, trade union infiltration and illegal gambling. But it found no criticism could be levelled at the ALP or any Labor politician, so destroying much of the credibility of the Opposition's claims on crime.

But the campaign became featured by a series of judgmental mistakes by Mr Hawke.

On the way through he and his Industry Minister John Button were guilty of fluffs on the likelihood of a capital gains tax.

But the entire rationale for the long campaign and his agreement, finally, to participate in the great TV debate left senior Labor strategists wondering at his judgment.

In the end the December 1 election reversal saw the Government's majority cut from 25 to 16, not increased to as many as 78, as some of the pre-poll research had suggested.

Mr Peacock emerged from the campaign jubilant and safe from challenge and Mr Hawke was saddled with responsibility from all factions for the failure.

The tactical errors were in not concentrating on the battle to win the Senate despite the fact a referendum question went to the heart of Senate constitutionality.

No one had thought to examine the likely effect on the Labor vote of changes to the electoral voting procedures and the long campaign gave the embryonic Nuclear Disarmament Party time to generate the support for a handsome showing, particularly in Western Australia, where it won a Senate seat.

The Peacock parliamentary forces were bolstered by an injection of new talent, including Paul Everingham from the Northern Territory and Peter Shack from Western Australia.

The ALP Left suffered a grave loss with the defeat of Pete Steedman from Victoria, but Mr Hawke gave the Left its second Cabinet post in his significant ministerial reshuffle on December 11.

The scope of the ministry changes reflected the reverberations through the Government at the election result, because in the weeks prior to December 1 Mr Hawke had

been confidently predicting few changes.

1984 will be seen as the year Mr Hawke and Mr Keating helped turn the economy around.

In March 1983 inflation was 11.5 per cent (seasonally adjusted), unemployment was at 10.3 per cent and the deficit was \$9.6 billion.

In August 1984 inflation was 3.9 per cent, unemployment 8.9 per cent and the actual deficit for 1983-84 was \$7.9 billion.

The close of 1984 begs answers to a list of pressing political questions the year itself spawned.

Mr Hawke and his ministers must be asking where the continuing inquiries into Mr Justice Murphy will lead.

Will the new ministry work and, importantly, how will the new Attorney-General Lionel Bowen perform in the crime spotlight?

What will come of the uneasy alliance that grew up during 1984 between the Right and the Centre Left?

Will the snub for NSW MPs inherent in Andrew Peacock's own reshuffle of his front bench come against him?

Will Mr Peacock improve sufficiently as leader to hold off a NSW-inspired leadership challenge in early 1985?

And what does the growth of the NDP mean for the Labor Left and, more importantly, for the immediate survival of Don Chipp's Democrats?

But as the year ends, one question above these emerged to intrigue Canberra watchers. Will the disaster of the 1984 campaign move a chastened Bob Hawke to accept that all political wisdom does not solely reside in his own prime ministerial judgment?

CSO: 4200/474

AUSTRALIA

RESERVE BANK SOUNDS WARNING ON FOREIGN DEBT

Brisbane THE COURIER MAIL in English 2 Jan 85 p 23

[Article by Alan Thornhill]

[Text]

ARE we — as a nation — going too deeply into debt? The Reserve Bank, evidently, believes the question is worth a little thought.

For it has warned that Australia's gross foreign debt could rise to \$50 billion by June.

For a country with only 15 million people, that's a very large figure.

It would also represent a significant increase in our existing foreign debt, which is already about \$42 billion.

The Reserve Bank made these predictions, in its latest monthly bulletin.

The immediate temptation I suppose, is not to worry, especially while most of us are on holidays.

After all, Australia has relied heavily on foreign debt, in the past, to cover its balance of payments problems. Generally, we have prospered by doing so.

Won't that situation continue?

Let's consider what the Reserve Bank has to say on the matter.

The bank reminds us, for example, that Australia's interest bill on foreign borrowings has more than trebled during the past five years. It reached \$3.2 billion in 1983-84.

These figures are big enough, by themselves, to raise some eyebrows and cause us to start asking some fundamental questions.

They assume even more importance, however, when we assess the circumstances in which we are taking on this heavy debt, and start asking ourselves how we will manage it.

Companies operating in Australia borrowed very heavily to finance resource development in the abortive

mineral boom of the early eighties.

The immortal words that the new Resources and Energy Minister, Senator Evenas, used in another context might be applied again now.

Those words, you will recall, were: "It seemed like a good idea at the time."

But was it?

That investment greatly increased Australia's capacity to produce steaming coal, which was then in heavy demand, as an alternative energy resource.

Oil prices were rising sharply at the time and seemed likely to continue doing so for ever. It seemed reasonable to assume that they would put coal prices on the fast escalator, too.

As we now know that did not happen. A deep world recession, and other influences, stopped the oil price spiral.

Excess production and excess capacity are keeping world coal prices competitive, to say the least. New technologies are also reducing world demand for the base materials which Australia is so good at producing.

The development of the microchip, printed circuits and fibre-optics, for example, have all seriously reduced world demand for our copper.

The Reserve Bank sums up these developments in this way: "Technological change and the growing role of the information sector in most developed economies has, perhaps permanently, reduced commodity demand."

All of this raises a serious question about our borrowing habits.

Do we still have the asset backing and the likely cash flows to support our

habit of borrowing so vigorously abroad?

We repay our debts from the sale of goods we produce.

So if our sales are subdued, as they seem likely to be for some time yet, as a result of lower demand for basic commodities, our capacity to repay foreign debt will be reduced accordingly.

Is that a good time to be increasing our debt? That hardly seems likely.

In fact, though, the analysis given so far probably understates the difficulties we could face repaying our foreign debt in future.

Australia's mining industry is now in its fourth consecutive bad year. As investors, naturally enough, are generally reluctant to put their money into areas in which prospects are bad, there has been a major shift away from resource investment in recent years.

However, private capital inflows have remained high. It was \$6.7 billion in 1980-81 and \$8.1 billion in 1983-84.

Where, though, has the money been coming from? More importantly, where has it been going?

Although few Australians have yet realised it, investors from ASEAN countries and Hong Kong have been

starting to dominate Australia's investment inflows in recent years.

There is nothing particularly worrisome about that fact, by itself.

However, Asian investors do have different priorities from those of the British and United States investors who have traditionally played leading roles in the Australian investment scene.

They are more interested in commercial property development, for example, than the British or Americans have been in the past.

This interest is not reprehensible in any way.

However, it has helped to produce, or at least reinforce a new direction in Australia's foreign investment patterns.

Investment in Australia's finance and property sector has been rising far more rapidly than any other type of investment in recent years.

A recent study by the Australian Institute of Urban Studies shows that commercial property developments have been attracting a big share of this investment. Money invested in this way will not produce the export income we will need to pay our foreign debts.

CSO: 4200/474

AUSTRALIA

EDITORIAL CONTRADICTS BLEAK ECONOMIC FORECAST

Melbourne THE AGE in English 3 Jan 85 p 9

[Editorial: "The Economy on a Plateau"]

[Text]

**B**USINESS Age's economic survey and forecast published yesterday contains much to indicate that 1985 will be a good year for business and people with jobs. The survey covered the predictions of 33 of the nation's top bank economists, forecasting groups and individual company economists. It has a good record of being accurate. If its assessment of 1985 is correct, the base for recovery laid in 1984 will be consolidated — an assessment which contrasts with the somewhat bleak picture painted last month by the OECD. Although the predicted economic growth of 3.1 per cent is below Treasury's rosy 4 per cent estimate for the year to June, it was well above the 2.25 per cent nominated by the OECD. The difference is probably less to do with the timing of the forecasts (the OECD relied on earlier figures) than with the natural pragmatism of local economists, and their tendency to balance optimistic Government projections and less sanguine employer warnings in preparing their views.

The year ahead, according to the survey, will be stable, with relatively strong economic growth, moderate inflation, and no significant blowout in the Budget deficit. It is, on the whole, an encouraging survey, indicating that in the absence

of an unforeseen slump in the US economy, or foolish Government decisions, 1985 could provide valuable consolidation of the benefits gained in 1983 and 84. The image is one of an economy recovering, with some patchiness and hesitation, from the devastation of the worst recession in 50 years. There are, however, several worrying aspects to the survey. Unemployment is expected to fall only slightly, showing that Australia is accumulating a large unemployment pool which will take many years to reduce to an acceptable size. It is likely to expand even more if growth drops below the 2.5 to 3 per cent target set by the Government and the ACTU. Also, private sector investment, which is crucial for long-term economic recovery, remains sluggish. The forecasters believe the Government will again in 1985 have to carry most of the load for sustaining economic growth. There are varying and conflicting views on the best way to encourage investment. There appears to be agreement that without it, recovery will stall sooner rather than later. The economists also were less optimistic about the general prospects for 1986 than they were 12 months ago about 1985, which is hardly surprising as the recovery enters its expected plateau stage. Their caution may have been influenced by their general belief that growth will taper off later this year, just as wage rises begin to affect business confidence and profits.

In light of the assessment, and the apparently dismal prospects for unemployed workers, the

Federal Government would do well to treat with considerable suspicion the ACTU's claim for a 4 or 5 per cent productivity-based wage rise, to be taken in the form of superannuation. Such a claim is premature, and is unlikely to help wind back unemployment, or encourage new investment. The ACTU ought to stop talking up the claim, and recognise that however much of an injustice a lack of superannuation may be, denying employment to more than 600,000 fellow workers is a far greater injustice. Superannuation is not going to help the unemployed, nor the 2.77 million people who live in poverty. Any conflict between the ACTU and the Government over productivity would put some pressure on the prices and incomes accord, but we would agree with the assessment of the forecasters that the accord seems likely to hold throughout the year.

In summary, the economy appears to be set to continue growing steadily, hampered by a few important problems, but underpinning the assessment of the next 12 month is a strong element of uncertainty; the recovery is proceeding according to plan, but it is not robust enough to withstand any nasty shocks, such as could be provided by a sudden increase in labor costs or problems with overseas markets. The Government must resist pressure from the economic troglodytes of the Labor Left wing, and coercion from the

smooth talkers at the ACTU to do anything unnecessary to increase costs to business or upset business confidence. If its resolve needs any steeling, the Government need look no further than over its shoulder at the last recession, or at the spectre of poverty and unemployment staring it in the face.

CSO: 4200/474

AUSTRALIA

ACTIVIST BUCKS SYSTEM IN OPPOSING NEW CALEDONIA REBELS

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 4 Jan 85 p 9

[Article by Elizabeth Johnston: "For Michael Darby, the Bugle Sounds in Noumea"]

[Text]

He has lost some hair and gained some weight since the exhilarations of Timor, the discomforts of a New Hebridean jail and NSW politics, heavy with innuendo and intrigue.

For the past four years Mr Darby has concentrated on earning a living as a computer salesman, writing a book — a spy novel of course — and dabbling on the edges of Queensland National Party politics.

The Australian Society for Inter-Country Aid for Children, the Australian Society for Inter-Country Aid to Timor, the Australian Action Co-ordinating Centre, the Society for a Free Australia and other "Righteous" dad and mum armies led by Mr Darby are in the past.

They have been washed away, perhaps, by a rising tide of conservatism which has put Mr Darby closer to the middle ground — a crusader at a loss for a crusade.

At least that was the case until New Caledonia took the gloss off its tourist brochures with killings and conflict over the November 18 Territorial Assembly elections.

Michael and Lynne Darby read the newspapers and listened to the broadcasts while relaxing by the pool on their five-piece red cedar outdoor setting beneath the sunburned banana palms in their suburban Brisbane backyard.

Above the wail of the shift whistle at the neighbouring pineapple cannery they heard a call to action. Although its accent was unmistakably French they could see a role for Australians like themselves.

This week they announced the formation of the New Caledonia Support Group.

The Darbys say they have the experience necessary for international action at a grass roots level, they will be conducting their campaign from their home in the Brisbane suburb of Banyo but hope to travel to New Caledonia later in the year.

Lynne, a trained nurse, and Michael put a volunteer medical team into Guam to work with Vietnamese refugees after the fall of Saigon and a similar team into East Timor.

At home they have been involved in fights against margarine quotas in NSW, campaigns against death duties and taxes, publication of a magazine and a variety of anti-communist crusades, NSW Liberal Party imbroglios and, most recently, a Queensland State election campaign which wrested the previously Liberal seat of Toowong away from its traditional owners and into the hands of the National Party.

Unfortunately for their foreign policy interests, the East Timor operation upset the Australian Foreign Affairs department by filling a RAAF

Caribou with unauthorised refugees waiting to be flown to Darwin. Mr Darby says the refugees climbed on board after surrendering to him because they thought the RAAF had sent the plane for them following a request he made.

**Black minority government'**

The Red Cross official who had been assigned the use of the plane had his inspection tour unexpectedly curtailed. With an armed UDT man sitting on the tail of the aircraft he did not argue. Mr Darby says the only reason the armed man would not get off until everyone was inside was that he had torn his trousers and was too embarrassed to move.

Whatever the reason, it did not endear the Darbys to the Department of Foreign Affairs. The distaste is mutual.

Mr Darby blames the department for his arrest on his arrival at Vila in the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) "bows and arrows" war of 1980. He was jailed until the next plane out. He says he was served a very pleasant French wine but the plumbing left much to be desired.

Eighteen months ago the Darbys visited another Pacific island, New Caledonia, talked to the President, Dick Ukeiwe, for about two hours and made

several contacts with whom, they say, they still speak by telephone.

"I must stress we have neither sought nor been offered any official encouragement from anyone in New Caledonia. Our aim is simply to counteract the propaganda that is rife in Australia," Mr Darby said this week.

"The Kanaks are being led by white communists trained at the Sorbonne," he said.

"We have a situation where a mob has set up a revolutionary government, has deliberately boycotted and attempted to sabotage an election, has set out killing people and provoking them and they are treated with the utmost courtesy by the Australian Government and the lunatic fringe, within which I include the Australian Council of Churches.

"People whose congregations are part of the Australian Council of Churches should be aware that those who spend their money do so on behalf of marxist revolutionaries.

"You ask what qualifications, Lynne and I have to make these statements. I think any impartial observer would have to assume we've had more experience of genuine foreign policy than anyone on the Australian Council of Churches or the Australian Waterside Workers Federation.

"We were smuggling medical supplies into East Timor after the Indonesian invasion. We got one boatload of stuff in through the Indonesia blockade.

"Bill Hayden is a nice guy but he hasn't the faintest idea about foreign policy. Whichever politicians you have, they will always act when in doubt on the advice of their department. The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs plays its own little game. It did it in Timor and in the New Hebrides and is doing it in New Caledonia.

"There is a thing called a conspiracy of one where everyone involved can see it in their own selfish interest to pursue a particular aim. The upshot is

that it looks as though they are all working together, they may not be.

"Let's not assume there is a master plan, but that it is in the interest of every little bureaucrat, for example, to get nice expenses paid trips with big dinners in Indonesia. It may similarly be in their interest to get nice trips somewhere down the track out of Walter Lini. (Father Walter Lini, the Prime Minister of Vanuatu).

"They might also see benefits in attacking France. Also, remember that the Australian Council of Churches is basically anti-Catholic. We have a sneaking suspicion one of the reason they are prepared to attack the French in New Caledonia is that those nasty French are all Catholics.

"Our main intention in forming the support group is to not only round up our old supporters and do something practical if it is required. It is more a matter of allowing a freedom of dissemination of information," Mrs Darby said.

Mr Darby said: "What bothers us most is that every pro-FLNKS statement made by anyone in Australia is encouragement to arson, kidnapping, murder and revolution."

"The strife in New Caledonia has nothing to do with colour. What is happening is that the trained marxists are pouring booze into their mates in the hope that their mates will get killed.

"They are deliberately attempting to create martyrs, they are deliberately selling their black friends down the river in the hope they'll get shot in order to provoke reaction on the international political scene.

"If Andrew Peacock had decided to tell his supporters to boycott the last election because he couldn't possibly win it, then Bob Hawke, instead of winning 54 per cent won 75 per cent, that wouldn't give Andrew Peacock the right to say 'Well, I'm the provisional government'. It is utter humbug.

"Dick Ukeiwe has just as much right to be leader of the Government in New Caledo-

nia as Bob Hawke has here.

"Even if only Kanaks were entitled to vote they couldn't win an election. Our estimate is that less than half the Kanaks support the FLNKS.

"They are sponsoring an apartheid type franchise and the Australian Council of Churches is enthusiastically supporting the proposal.

"Their prime objective is to say you have to be a native Kanak. Their fall-back position is that the so-called prisoners of history, those forced to be born there, might have to vote as well.

"On either basis they are not going to win an election unless they have free rein to impose whatever terror or bullying or intimidation their Marxist doctrine permits.

"A substantial number of people in New Caledonia are not Kanaks and are not white. The Kanaks would prefer those people not to be able to vote. They want apartheid so that only Kanaks can vote. They want a black minority government.

"And you have the Australian Council of Churches promoting that outrageous proposition which is very close to the position of apartheid that it effusively opposes in South Africa.

"If Australia is going to insist on pushing around the little countries we have no cause to ask for help when bigger ones start pushing us around.

"Australia blotted its copy-book in a disgraceful fashion over East Timor by conspiring with Indonesia to sell the East Timorese into slavery. We sold out the people of the New Hebrides, with the exception of Vila, and Australia was the aggressor in this case.

"Australia has an opportunity to retrieve some of the damage it has done in the Pacific by supporting Dick Ukeiwe in New Caledonia. All that has to happen is that he is officially invited to meet the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister in Canberra, that's all that is necessary."

CSO: 4200/474

AUSTRALIA

GOVERNMENT AVOIDS URANIUM DEBATE BY COMPENSATION PAYMENT

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 3 Jan 85 p 13

[Article by Robert Bowden and Des Keegan]

[Text]

THE Government will have to pay Queensland Mines \$119 million compensation which was not included in the Budget, it was learned yesterday.

According to sources in Canberra, the Government appears to have treated Parliament with disdain by not openly funding uranium compensation for Queensland Mines Ltd (QML) in the 1984-85 Budget.

The cost is understood to be \$56 million in the first two years and \$63 million for the rest of QML's uranium program, but this was not included in the Appropriation Bills accompanying the 1984-85 Budget documents.

It appears the Government's motives were political: it avoided the debate by evading the issue — the Opposition would presumably have questioned its financial integrity in throwing \$120 million of tax funds to a private company to buy off Labor's left wing.

Political observers say the Government saved the embarrassment of public scrutiny of its chaotic uranium stance by keeping Parliament and voters in the dark.

Its tacticians were easily able to provide the mechanics to sweep compensation under the carpet.

It was clear to the Government that it would have to

provide compensation for companies forced to renege on international contracts as far back as the ALP's 1984 conference.

This would have left plenty of time to draft the necessary Appropriation Bills in the 1984-85 Budget to pay initial compensation to Queensland Mines.

Labor's public finance experts could have advised the Government that it could have obscured initial payments in the "Advance to the Minister for Finance". This is for payments for "genuinely unforeseen circumstances".

Canberra sources are adamant there were no "genuinely unforeseen circumstances" in Queensland Mines's compensation. The issue was crystal clear during Budget drafting.

There are, of course, additional Appropriation Bills which are brought into Parliament in April; these could also fund the first compensation bill.

The controversy over the compensation centres on 800 tonnes of uranium which Queensland Mines had agreed to supply to the French utility Electricite De France by late 1986.

The former Minister for Resources and Energy, Senator Walsh, said in October that, as a result of the ALP national conference decision, QML would not receive export per-

mits and the uranium would be purchased by the Government.

The national conference placed a ban on uranium exports to France because of the French policy favouring nuclear testing in the Pacific. The 800 tonnes were due for delivery before December 1986.

However, the decision also included the possibility that QML would be able to purchase the uranium back from the Government if there was a change of heart about the French tests.

In the meantime, the uranium purchased by the Government will be added to the Australian Atomic Energy Commission stockpiles.

The Government is to conduct a full review of French nuclear testing in 1986 and the outcome of this will determine whether QML can go ahead with its contract for the sale of 800 tonnes of uranium as well as the prospects for another 900 tonnes it had planned to sell to the French after 1987.

This means no sales will be lost if the 1986 review is favourable. But, given some recent diplomatic skirmishes between Australia and France, the hard-line attitude of the left wing of the ALP and French persistence in testing at Mururoa Atoll, there seems little prospect of the review giving QML the go-ahead.

CSO: 4200/474

AUSTRALIA

**EDITORIAL HAILS SPACE RESEARCH DECISION**

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 1 Jan 85 p 8

[Editorial: "The Sky's the Limit"]

[Text]

THE CSIRO's decision to move into space research should at last give Australia the base to set up a viable, competitive space industry. This is long overdue and essential if the nation is to have any control over the future use of space-related technology — an area which is assuming growing importance in the world's commercial and strategic development.

Other developed and developing countries have realised the integral part being played by space in national and international communications, and in resource management, navigation, meteorology and search-and-rescue systems.

Japan, Canada, France and even India have developed their own space capability to maintain control over the technology and to build up their own industries.

Until now Australia has been content to rely on overseas space technology and has allowed its own space industry capability, built up during the Woomera days, to wither away.

Much of the \$500 million already spent on space and ground equipment for Australian satellite systems such as AUSSAT and INTELSAT has gone overseas. It is estimated that spending will increase to as much as \$500 million a year by 1995 and without a space capability much of this will also drift overseas.

Many Australian companies

already have space expertise but at present it is spread widely with little co-ordination or stimulation from the Government through contracts.

The CSIRO move, coupled with the present inquiry sponsored by the Government into an Australian space industry by the Academy of Technological Sciences, should provide the impetus to consolidate this effort.

In particular the CSIRO's decision to allocate up to 70 per cent of the work to industry should provide the research base for industry to build up a space capability and develop markets both locally and overseas, particularly in the rapidly expanding Asia-Pacific region. Contracting out this amount of research to industry is unprecedented in CSIRO history, and could mark the start of a much greater effort on the part of government bodies to stimulate research and development in Australian industry. The move should also stimulate the related industries involved in electronics, computing, communications and instruments.

Much will depend on the Government's willingness to fund the CSIRO. An estimated \$6 million is required next financial year rising to about \$20 million by 1990. On top of this the CSIRO estimates that space research spending overall in Australia should rise to \$73 million a year.

The Minister for Industry, Technology and Commerce, Senator Button, has already indicated his support for the development of an Australian aerospace industry. Now it is up to him to convince the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and the Cabinet that spending on this scale is worthwhile to develop a viable national space industry.

CSO: 4200/474

AUSTRALIA

EDITORIAL URGES JAPAN TO PULL MORE WEIGHT IN DEFENSE

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 4 Jan 85 p 8

[Editorial: "Pulling One's Weight in World Defence"]

[Text]

IT IS understandable that when the United States President, Mr Reagan, and the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr Nakasone, held talks they would concentrate on trade issues. The US and Japan represent the two largest and most successful capitalist economies on Earth, and their relationship is important for the whole world.

The success of both the American and Japanese economies demonstrates the extraordinary dynamism of the free market. However, another issue looms over the relationship between the two giant nations, and that is the American desire for Japan to make more of a contribution to its own self-defence.

After World War II, the Japanese Constitution was framed in such a way as to limit Japan's forces to a purely self-defence role. There was a general revulsion from the Japanese militarism which had inflicted such a heavy toll. Even today Japan voluntarily keeps its military expenditure to below 1 per cent of its Gross National Product.

The American argument, broadly, is that the US has guaranteed Japanese security for 40 years, but this has cost the American taxpayer a good deal of money. Japan, it believes, should now make a greater financial contribution to regional security.

This is a very similar argument to the one which the US has been having for more than a few years with its

West European allies. The US is asking its allies to stop taking a free ride, and to start making a proper contribution to their own security and to the security of the world.

Japan's magnificent post-war reconstruction, when, with invaluable US assistance, it pulled itself together as a society, was partly a result of the important economic advantage of not having to spend significant sums of money on defence. It allowed the Japanese Government to keep spending and taxation low, and to foster a market-oriented economy of vigour and strength.

The contemporary rejection of militarism, both culturally and politically, is a healthy aspect of Japanese politics. Japan, the only country to suffer nuclear attack, has a strong commitment to peace. But it is one of the lessons of history that good intentions are no defence against an aggressor. And Japan also has responsibilities within the community of nations and within the democratic alliance. It is in recognition of this that, for several years now, a national debate has been taking place in Japan over the issue of increased spending on the armed forces.

As Mr Nakasone himself pointed out in relation to the forthcoming US-Soviet arms control talks, it is important for the industrial democracies to remain united. Similarly, it is important for all members of the democratic alliance to pull their weight.

BRUNEI

BRIEFS

STATEMENT ON CAMBODIA CITED--Brunei has strongly deplored the repeated incursions by Vietnamese troops into Thailand. The BORNEO BULLETIN quotes a Brunei Foreign Ministry statement as saying that Vietnam's escalation of military action against Kampuchean resistance forces along the Thai-Kampuchean border indicates Hanoi's intention to settle the issue by military means. Brunei is deeply concerned over the military action, which has resulted in the great loss of innocent lives, massive destruction of property, and influx of thousands of refugees into neighboring Thailand. The statement points out that Thailand's peace and security are being threatened. It calls on Vietnam to (?accede to) the wishes of the international community for an early and comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur International Service in English 0600 GMT 3 Feb 85 BK]

CSO: 4200/492

CAMBODIA

SIHANOUK VISITS REFUGEES AT 'CAMP DAVID'

BK070136 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 7 Feb 85 p 6

[Text] ...Camp David, Surin--Prince Norodom Sihanouk, president of Democratic Kampuchea, said yesterday China had pledged to intervene militarily and teach Vietnam a second lesson if the Khmer resistance forces were badly beaten by the Vietnamese in Kampuchea.

Talking to reporters during his visit to the camp, Prince Sihanouk said the pledge was given by Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping during a discussion the latter had with the leaders of the three factions of coalition government in Beijing last October.

He said China promised to commit more troops to indirectly help the resistance and keep heavy pressure on Vietnam at the frontline.

Accompanied by his wife, Princess Monique, and son, Prince Rannaridh, Prince Sihanouk was given a warm welcome by hundreds of flag-waving Khmer children who lined up in rows to receive him when he arrived at the camp.

The camp, which is also known as Green Hill, is located on Thai territory and is about eight kilometres from the border. It houses around 38,000 Khmers who were evacuated from Tatum military base in April last year.

Addressing his people in their native language, the Prince praised the sacrifice of the resistance soldiers in putting up a fierce fight against the Vietnamese. He also touched upon the unification of the three factions in a coalition government in 1982.

"We have to help and cooperate with each other like a big family to gain strength and drive out the Vietnamese one day," the Prince told his people.

He attributed Vietnam's strong offensive against the resistance to two reasons: Vietnam's diplomatic defeat at the United Nations and the resistance's success in attacking the Vietnamese deep inside Kampuchea.

The concerted offensive near the Thai-Kampuchean border was aimed at showing that Vietnam was still strong and very much in control of Kampuchea, he noted.

Prince Sihanouk disclosed that Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach recently sent a message to his Chinese counterpart offering to improve relations between the two countries.

But the peace overture was rejected outright by Beijing which demanded that Hanoi must first declare publicly its intention to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea before relations could be normalised, the Prince said.

CSO: 4200/510

CAMBODIA

HENG SAMRIN THANKS RAJIV GANDHI FOR SUPPORT

BK081415 Phnom Penh SPK in English 1114 GMT 8 Feb 85

[Text] Phnom Penh, 8 Feb (SPK)--President Heng Samrin has expressed deep gratitude for the strong support given by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and by the government and people of India to the just cause of the Kampuchean people.

In reply to a message from Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in connection with the policy of the Non-aligned Movement President Heng Samrin said: "The government and the people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea highly appreciate the great contributions made by the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to the Non-aligned Movement. At the same time, they are confident that Your Excellency, in continuing the cause and commitment of the late Indira Gandhi for the Non-aligned Movement, will have many more and greater successes in strengthening the unity and solidarity of the Non-aligned Movement against imperialism and Chinese expansionism and hegemonism, for peace, national independence, disarmament and social progress."

"The government and the people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea are determined to do their utmost to support every initiative made by Your Excellency in your capacity as chairman of the Non-aligned Movement and to participate actively in carrying out the objectives set forth in the 1983 New Delhi statement," he stressed.

CSO: 4200/510

CAMBODIA

VODK COMMENTARY URGES EXPULSION OF SRV FROM UNITED NATIONS

BK311133 (Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2330 GMT  
30 Jan 85

[Station commentary: "The Hanoi Vietnamese Enemy Aggressors Do Not Deserve To Be a Member of the United Nations; They Ought To Be Expelled From the Organization"]

[Text] On 24 and 25 January, the Vietnamese enemy forces occupying Cambodia launched a new attack on Cambodian refugee camps at Dangrek. As in previous attacks, the Vietnamese used artillery to rain shells on Cambodian refugees, killing 16 and wounding about 60 others. More than 20,000 more fled in distress and in great hardship to find refuge on Thai territory. This Vietnamese attack coincided with the visit by UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar to Thailand and to temporary sites for Cambodian refugees who have just escaped the Hanoi Vietnamese enemy forces' attacks this dry season.

The Vietnamese enemy aggressors' attacks on Cambodian refugee camps since November 1984 have stupefied the world, which has expressed great concern for the destiny of the Cambodian victims. The world has expressed sympathy and compassion for the Cambodian people who died, were wounded, and had to flee many times because of repeated savage and most brutal attacks by the Hanoi Vietnamese forces. The international community has successively and repeatedly issued statements outrageously condemning the Vietnamese enemy aggressors and demanded that the Hanoi Vietnamese immediately stop their great criminal and savage acts to exterminate the Cambodian civilian people and take part in negotiations to peacefully resolve the Cambodian issue in accordance with the UN resolutions.

However, the Hanoi Vietnamese enemy aggressors have expressed no regrets at all at the great suffering of the innocent Cambodian people caused by their attacks which have attracted the world's attention. The Vietnamese have remained indifferent to the repeated demands by the international community that they stop their great crimes to exterminate innocent and unarmed Cambodian people. The Vietnamese have continued insanely to attack Cambodian civilian people and have intensified their extermination with increased vigor and barbarity.

On 24 and 25 January, as UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar visited Thailand and camps of Cambodian refugees who are victims of the recent great crimes of the Hanoi Vietnamese forces, the latter ordered their troops to most savagely and in a fascist manner attack Cambodian refugee camps at Dangrek. These most criminal and savage acts by the Hanoi Vietnamese enemy aggressors clearly show that the Vietnamese are very insolent, savage, brutal, and fascist. They have no human feelings or civility. The Vietnamese do not respect international law or the UN Charter, nor do they listen to anyone's pleas. On the contrary, they even deliberately carried out this attack to jeer at the UN secretary general. This has greatly angered the international community. Even the UN secretary general himself said he did not expect the Vietnamese forces' attack on Cambodian civilian camps to occur at the same time as his mission in the area. He said he greatly regretted this attack.

The Hanoi Vietnamese, therefore, are not worthy of being a member of the United Nations. Because of their insolent and savage act of aggression which brutally violated international law and the UN Charter, and because of their stubbornness in not implementing successive UN resolutions demanding that they unconditionally withdraw all their aggressor forces from Cambodia to let the Cambodian people decide their own destiny themselves, the Hanoi Vietnamese deserve to be expelled from the United Nations. The international community and the United Nations should not allow a member of the United Nations to trample on the UN resolutions at will like this and continue to wage a war of aggression and expansion, create insecurity in the region, and make the Cambodian people--both inside the country and along the border--suffer great hardship and separation from their families and beloved homeland.

The UN secretary general has already seen some of the great suffering and hardship of innocent civilian Cambodian people during his 27 January visit to Cambodian refugee camps. However, this is only part of it. People deep inside Cambodia under the grip of the Vietnamese have been suffering even more than this during the past 6 years. Therefore, the Cambodian people would like to appeal to all peace- and justice-loving countries the world over, various international organizations, and in particular the UN secretary general to pay even greater attention to the Hanoi Vietnamese great crimes of intensely and indiscriminately exterminating innocent Cambodian people and to take all effective measures to quickly check the Hanoi Vietnamese enemy aggressors' great crimes. Particularly, the Cambodian people appeal for all to unite in taking measures to compel the Vietnamese to unconditionally withdraw all their aggressor forces from Cambodia and let the Cambodian people decide their destiny themselves without any outside interference in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the past six UN General Assembly sessions to definitively end the great tragedy and suffering of the Cambodian people. Only when the Hanoi Vietnamese enemy aggressors unconditionally withdraw their forces and let the Cambodian people decide their own destiny in accordance with the UN resolutions can the Cambodian people's great suffering be definitively ended and can the entire Southeast Asian region recover security and stability.

CSO: 4212/40

CAMBODIA

RESOLUTION GIVES GUIDANCE ON LITERACY CAMPAIGN

BK300713 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1100 GMT 29 Jan 85

[Resolution on major guidelines, targets, and measures for 1985 anti-illiteracy and supplementary education campaign adopted at 15 January 1985 meeting at the Council of Ministers' Office chaired by Comrade Hun Sen, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau and chairman of the Council of Ministers]

[Text] 1. Objective

Nineteen eighty-five is the year in which the campaign must be intensified more vigorously than in previous years in order to achieve the second 3-year plan. Therefore, it is the year that the entire party, people, and army must use all their energy and gather all their forces to struggle against illiteracy in order to train the cadres, employees, youths, and people of our socialist fatherland.

2. Targets

a. Literacy

All ministries, offices, factories, enterprises, societies, military units, economy units, and all branches of the state organizations must completely eradicate illiteracy among cadres, employees, workers, and combatants. All provinces on the plain must liberate from illiteracy 100 percent of the cadres and youths and 80 percent of the people as planned. All mountainous provinces must make every effort to liberate from illiteracy 100 percent of the cadres and employees, particularly those at the district level. The people and youths in these provinces must be liberated from illiteracy to a reasonable level.

b. Supplementary Education

Localities and units, which organized the first literacy class for their people and combatants, must open a second class immediately in order to prevent new cases of illiteracy in our compatriots. All these localities and units must organize at least a third literacy class for the people and at least a fourth class for leading cadres. Leading cadres younger than

45 years old at the district level, including cadres of factories and enterprises, must attend supplementary education class so that they will be able to finish the first degree of education at the end of 1986 with 100 percent. Leading cadres younger than 45 years old from communes and villages, including chairmen and vice chairmen of solidarity groups, must finish the first degree of education with 50 percent. Other cadres must finish in at least the third class. Provinces and towns that do not have regular supplementary education schools must make every effort to open such schools in 1985.

### 3. Measures

It is necessary to propagate the policy and the concern of the party and the state about this issue by considering the task to eradicate illiteracy an urgent duty of the revolution and an important task in all ministries, offices, and localities. In accordance with the resolution of the cadres conference, all levels of the state power must be responsible for liberating the people, cadres, employees, workers, and combatants in all their localities and units from illiteracy.

All levels of the committees for eradication of illiteracy and for supplementary education must increase their activities to regularly inspect and visit all localities in conformity with the resolutions of the first, second, and third conferences of the national committee. The committee must distribute duties among all members. It is necessary to avoid giving all responsibilities for fulfilling this task to the education sector. It is necessary to appoint permanent responsible employees to take charge of this task in all committees in ministries, offices, and mass organizations. These responsible employees should be provided complete facilities so that they can fulfill their duty well.

All ministries and offices must examine the statistics lists of the knowledge of their cadres and employees. All illiterate employees and those with low level of knowledge should be gathered to attend literacy and supplementary education course. It is necessary to introduce this issue in all big meetings. Literacy courses should be organized in balance with working hours. It is necessary to appoint cadres to teach literacy until the plan is achieved. Furthermore, all localities, especially those in isolated areas, must strive to gather all children of school age to attend classes to eradicate the source of illiteracy.

The task of eradicating illiteracy and promoting supplementary education is a new and complicated duty, but it is a noble, necessary, and urgent revolutionary task. It is also a great policy of the party and the state. In the past 5 years, we have benefited from experiences to overcome all difficulties. In 1985, we pursue the campaign against illiteracy by combining old experiences with the new ones in order to successfully fulfill the second 3-year plan.

CSO: 4212/40

22 February 1985

## CAMBODIA

## SIHANOUK VISITS KHMER ROUGE BASE 9 FEBRUARY

HK100834 Hong Kong AFP in English 0826 GMT 10 Feb 85

[By Francis Deron]

[Text] Phum Thmey, Cambodia, 10 Feb (AFP)--French Campaign, American Cigarettes and Buddhist rituals were all part of the scene when Cambodian resistance leader Prince Norodom Sihanouk visited the Khmer Rouge at their base here yesterday.

Half a dozen saffron-robed Buddhist monks intoned the traditional "chhanyanto" welcoming prayer as the former Cambodian monarch arrived here.

Khmer Rouge leaders Khieu Samphan and Ieng Sary showed no qualms about joining Prince Sihanouk in prayer with hands clasped to their chests and their chests and their gaze locked on journalists and TV cameras.

Prince Sihanouk's yearly courtesy call on the pro-Peking faction served to highlight the new more liberal Khmer Rouge image since the movement was driven from power by Vietnamese forces in January 1979.

When they took over Cambodia in 1975 the Khmer Rouge gave short shrift to religion but they now say they have cast off their revolutionary ideology.

A timber village amid dense jungle provided the setting for yesterday's meeting with a panoply of incongruous props and sideshows.

The occasion was a ceremony at which credentials of foreign ambassadors were presented to Prince Sihanouk, whose Democratic Kampuchea coalition represents Cambodia at the United Nations.

Foreign journalists were bussed to the frontier from Bangkok by Thai authorities with press badges taking the place of visas in simplified border formalities.

Prince Sihanouk made the trip with his wife Princess Monica in a black official limousine, which was allowed to drive over the frontier while the press had to cross it on foot.

Protocol was faultless for the arrival of the ex-monarch who for most of the four-year period of Khmer Rouge rule lived under guard in his Phnom Penh residence.

The Khmer Rouge leaders clad in suit and tie stood at the camp entrance, extending traditional Khmer greetings with hands clasped in front of their faces.

The sole absentee was former Prime Minister Pol Pot said by his colleagues to be still "at the front."

One new face among Khmer Rouge leaders was Son Sennh, responsible for defence in Prince Sihanouk's government, who observers pointed out had recently been given increasing prominence.

Prince Sihanouk first inspected a guerrilla detachment comprising both men and women, with brand new uniforms and weapons provided by China.

Then came prayers and Prince Sihanouk's annual donation--this time of 800 dollars--to the monks for their works had to build a monastery here. He was then mobbed by an enthusiastic crowd of civilians.

After the accreditation ceremony in which the new envoys made their formal speeches in a room opened out on the jungle, French champagne was served along with trays of American filter-tipped cigarettes.

As the ritual was capped by a champagne-toasted banquet, Prince Sihanouk gave the ambassadors one or two hints for a time when they could open their missions in a Phnom Penh "liberated" by Cambodian guerrillas from some 150,000 to 170,000 Vietnamese troops.

Guerrilla leaders have pledged that their future Cambodian government would guarantee private property.

Nearby posters show photographs of alleged "crimes" against civilians by "Vietnamese aggressors" and even a team of U.S. experts who recently came here reportedly to check on human rights violations in Cambodia.

Asked how he felt about the Khmer Rouge, which was widely blamed for at least one million deaths due to massacres and famines during their rule of Cambodia, Prince Sihanouk said: "Let bygones be bygones."

The nationalist factions' alliance with the Khmer Rouge, who are the mightiest force in the three-faction coalition is a "patriotic duty," the prince said as he returned to his car amid warm farewells from Khmer Rouge leaders.

CSO: 4200/510

CAMBODIA

CLANDESTINE RADIOS REPORT BATTLEFIELD ACTIVITIES

Battle Reports for 25-31 Jan

BK011010 [Editorial Report] (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian and (Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian broadcast the following battle reports during the reporting period 25-31 January:

VONADK at 2315 GMT on 25 January reports that between 22 December and 22 January, Democratic Kampuchean combatants killed or wounded 145 Vietnamese enemy soldiers on the Kompong Thom, Ratanakiri, Stung Treng, Sisophon-south of Route 5, Koh Kong Leu, and West Battambang battlefields. A battalion commander was among those killed. DK troops destroyed 22 assorted weapons, 6 commune offices, 1 house used by Vietnamese security forces, 8 barracks, 10 trenches, 3 trucks, 2 rice stores, 1 fabric store, 1 materiel storehouse, 1 rice milling machine, 2 barrels of gasoline, and some ammunition and war materiel. They seized five weapons, a map, and some ammunition and war materiel. They also liberated a populated area in Kompong Thom Province, seven villages in Kompong Thom Province, and two others in Kompong Cham Province.

VONADK at 2315 GMT on 26 January notes that between 5 and 20 January, DK troops killed or wounded 221 Vietnamese enemy soldiers on the Siem Reap, Tonle Sap, Moun-Pursat, and Samlot battlefields. They destroyed 43 assorted weapons, 1 district office, 1 commune office, 31 barracks, 10 trenches, 2 radio sets, 10 telephone sets, 1 trade storage facility, 1 war materiel depot, 1 cloth storage facility containing 8,000 meters of cloth, 3 rice storehouses, 2 trucks, 10 bicycles, 1,014 meters of railway track, 1 bridge, and some ammunition and war materiel. They also seized 36 assorted weapons, 3 typewriters, 1 telephone set, and some ammunition and war materiel.

According to VONADK at 2315 GMT on 27 January, DK troops killed or wounded 338 Vietnamese enemy soldiers on the Pailin-Route 10, Leach, South Sisophon, Kompong Chhnang, Kompong Thom, and Kampot battlefields from 14 to 24 January. They destroyed 68 weapons, 4 commune offices, 50 barracks, 9 trucks, 2 tractors, 3 ferries, 10 large boats, 7 rowboats, 6 boat engines, a gas station, 2 generators, and 192 meters of railroad track. They seized 33 weapons, 2 typewriters, and some materiel. They also liberated Prek Kdam ferry crossing and 14 villages on the Prek Kdam battlefields.

VODK at 2330 GMT on 27 January discloses that between 2 and 22 January, DK troops on the Moung-Pursat, Tonle Sap, Samlot, and Siem Reap battlefields killed or wounded 211 Vietnamese enemy soldiers. They destroyed 22 weapons, 2 trucks, 1 C-25 radio, 11 telephones, 2 warehouses, 3 ricemills, 30 barracks, and 744 meters of railroad track. They seized 31 weapons and a quantity of ammunition. They also liberated a Chikreng District town in Siem Reap Province and two platoon positions on the Samlot battlefield.

VONADK at 2315 GMT on 28 January reveals that from 18 to 25 January, DK combatants on the Sisophon-south of Route 5, Kompong Thom, Kompong Cham, and Siem Reap battlefields killed or wounded 120 Vietnamese enemy soldiers. They destroyed 3 AK's, 4 commune offices, 32 military barracks, 78 trenches, 1 paddy storehouse, 1 rice milling machine, 1 medicine storehouse, 1 motorboat, and a quantity of military materiel. They seized seven guns and a quantity of documents, ammunition, and military materiel. They also liberated eight villages on the Kompong Thom battlefield and eight others on the Battambang battlefield.

VODK at 2330 GMT on 28 January states that from 3 to 24 January, DK forces killed or wounded 352 Vietnamese enemy soldiers on the Kampot, Kompong Chhnang, Leach, Pailin-Route 10, Sisophon-south of Route 5, Siem Reap, Kompong Thom, and Chhep battlefields. They destroyed 60 assorted weapons, 1 T-63 tank, 10 trucks, 1 cannon, 2 tractors, 10 motorboats, 7 boats, 2 generators, 1 paddy storehouse, 1 medicine storehouse, 50 military barracks, 1 commune office, and a quantity of ammunition and military materiel. They cut 8 sections of railway track for a total of 192 meters. They seized 17 assorted weapons, and a quantity of ammunition and military materiel. They also liberated Prek Kdam ferry crossing, 3 communes, and 14 villages.

According to VONADK at 2315 GMT on 29 January, DK forces killed or wounded 132 Vietnamese enemy soldiers on the Samlot, Kompong Thom, Sisophon-north of Route 5, Preah Vihear, and Sisophon-south of Route 5 battlefields from 15 to 26 January. They destroyed 13 assorted guns, 6 commune offices, 39 military barracks, 70 trenches, 1 warehouse for materiel, 1 rice storehouse with 40 sacks of rice, and a quantity of documents, ammunition, and military materiel. They cut one 13-meter bridge. They seized 14 assorted guns, 20 grenades, 2 compasses, and some ammunition and military materiel. They liberated and occupied a Vietnamese company position and a platoon position in Kratie Province, a Vietnamese position on the Sisophon-north of Route 5 battlefield, 4 villages in Kompong Cham Province, 14 villages in Kratie Province, and 4 others on the Kompong Thom battlefield.

VONADK at 2315 GMT on 30 January reveals that from 19 to 28 January, DK forces killed or wounded 214 Vietnamese enemy soldiers on the Kompong Cham, Kompong Thom, Koh Kong Leu, Samlot, Sisophon-south of Route 5, Kompong Chhnang, and Pailin-Route 10 battlefields. They destroyed 33 guns, 17 military barracks, 25 trenches, 2 commune offices, 2 trucks, 2 boats, 3 rice milling machines, 1 paddy storehouse, 1 rice storehouse, and a quantity of ammunition and military materiel. They seized 16 guns, 3 maps, and some ammunition and military materiel. They also liberated eight villages on the Kompong Cham battlefield.

According to VONADK at 2315 GMT on 31 January, DK forces killed or wounded 250 Vietnamese enemy soldiers on the Moung-Pursat, Kompong Chhnang, Kompong Cham, Western Leach, Siem Pang, South Sisophon, Preah Vihear, Kompong Som, and Kompong Thom battlefields between 20 and 28 January. They destroyed 40 assorted weapons, 3 commune offices, 55 barracks, 61 trenches, 648 meters of railroad track, 1 company position, 3 trucks, 5 bicycles, 1 motorcycle, 1 mine depot, 1 ammunition depot, 1 medicine store, 1 material store, 1 rice milling machine, 1 paddy warehouse, 2 rice warehouses, 1 fabric store, and some ammunition and war materiel. They seized 14 assorted weapons, 2 maps, 1 gas mask, 6 rolls of cloth, 12 sacks of rice, and some ammunition and war materiel. They also liberated a township, a commune office building, and 10 villages on the Moung-Pursat battlefield, 3 villages on the Kompong Cham battlefield, and 5 villages on the South Sisophon battlefield.

#### 450 'Forced Laborers' Freed

BK301013 (Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2330 GMT 29 Jan 85

[Text] In attacks launched in Kompong Svay and Sandan districts, Kompong Thom Province on 11 January, our Democratic Kampuchean National Army freed 450 local people forced by the Vietnamese to clear brush. These people were extremely happy to be freed from misery and death at the criminal hands of the Vietnamese enemy aggressors.

It has been the opinion of our people that only our Democratic Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas are determined to fight the Vietnamese enemy aggressors, protect the lives of the people, and perpetuate the existence of our race and nation. They pledge to make every effort to cooperate with and provide assistance to the Democratic Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas in counterattacking the Vietnamese enemy aggressors until final victory--the complete liberation of Cambodia.

#### 4 Villages 'Liberated'

BK300939 (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2315 GMT 29 Jan 85

[Text] We attacked the Vietnamese enemy's commune office in (Me Pring) commune, Cheung Prey District, Kompong Cham Province, on 21 January.

We killed or wounded a number of Vietnamese enemy soldiers and destroyed 1 commune office, 8 military barracks, 10 trenches, and a quantity of military materiel. We seized 1 AK, 180 rounds of AK ammunition, and 6 AK magazines. We liberated four villages: (Me Pring), (Tang Rolea), Tang Sleng, and Tang Trei.

Villages 'Liberated' in Kompong Thom

BK301019 (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2315 GMT 29 Jan 85

[Text] We attacked Tbeng commune office on Route 6 in Kompong Svay District, Kompong Thom Province, on 24 January.

After 20 minutes of fighting, we completely liberated the commune office, killing a Vietnamese soldier and wounding four others. We destroyed a commune office, three military barracks, and a quantity of military materiel. We seized 2 AK's, 1 SKS, 250 rounds of AK ammunition, 20 hand grenades, 8 AK magazines, 1 compass, and some military materiel. We also liberated four villages: Ta Riem, Trach, Strange, and Tbeng.

14 Villages 'Liberated'

BK300941 (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2315 GMT 29 Jan 85

[Text] We carried out a second attack on (Chrouy Banteay) commune office, Prek Prasap District, Kratie Province, on 24 January.

We killed or wounded a number of Vietnamese enemy soldiers and destroyed three commune office buildings and a quantity of military materiel. We seized three AR-15's and some military materiel and liberated nine villages: Prek Chik, Keo, Kompong Da, Roka Thom, (Khsach Toek), L'iet, (Chrouy Banteay), (Tuol Prich), and Kambot.

We attacked the Vietnamese enemy's commune office at (Vat Berna) commune, Sambo District, Kratie Province, for the second time on 25 January.

We killed or wounded a number of Vietnamese enemy soldiers and destroyed a commune office, 10 trenches, and a quantity of documents and military materiel. We liberated five villages: (Vat Berna), (Anlung Preah Kou), Prek Kreang, (Tang Nguon), and Dang Tong.

Attack on Commune Office

BK310954 (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2315 GMT 30 Jan 85

[Excerpt] We attacked the Vietnamese enemy's commune office at Samraong in Prey Chhor District, Kompong Cham Province, on 23 January.

In 20 minutes of fighting, we killed three Vietnamese enemy soldiers and wounded five others. We destroyed a commune office, 3 rice milling machines, 7 military barracks, 10 trenches, a paddy storehouse, a rice storehouse, and a quantity of military materiel. We seized an AR-15, a map, and some military materiel. We liberated eight villages: Samraong, Veal, Kandaol, Kaong, Ta Krot, Banteay Thmei, Ta Thma, and Kompong Siem.

CSO: 4212/40

CAMBODIA

DK ARMY DIRECTIVE ON DRY SEASON CAMPAIGN

BK020601 (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2315 GMT 31 Jan 85

[ "31 January directive of the Supreme Command of the Democratic Kampuchean National Army instructing all battlefields to intensify attacks against the Vietnamese enemy aggressors and race exterminators in order to frustrate the second phase of the Vietnamese enemy's scheme in the 7th dry season and advance our struggle to another significant stage" ]

[Text] The current situation of the Vietnamese enemy and the second phase of its scheme in the current 7th dry season:

1. The current situation of the Vietnamese enemy:

In the military field, the Vietnamese enemy has faced more serious difficulties than in the 6th dry season. These difficulties have been due to the fact that, first, our National Army has launched activities deeper inside Cambodia, particularly in the first group of battlefields, thus engaging tens of thousands of Vietnamese troops in the first group of battlefields and, second, because our National Army has launched activities more fiercely and skillfully and deeper inside the first group of battlefields by even launching attacks against the Vietnamese forces--sweeping them from areas from Skun to Prek Dkam--and launching activities in Bat Doeng, Tuol Leap, Bek Chan, and Sambo, thus disrupting the Vietnamese transportation links to the western part of Cambodia. Our National Army has daily attacked and destroyed railroad tracks, particularly the Phnom Penh-Battambang railroad; disrupted the water routes along the Ronle Sap River; and cut many portions of National Highways 5 and 6, thus causing more difficulties for the Vietnamese transport to the western part of Cambodia than existed in the 6th dry season. Since the beginning of the 7th dry season, the Vietnamese enemy's transportation to the western part of Cambodia has been mostly by foot, his reinforcements to the western part of Cambodia having been compelled to travel phase-by-phase on foot.

Therefore, the first group of battlefields, which is the strategic throat of the Vietnamese enemy, has been tightly strangled by our National Army. The Vietnamese enemy has mobilized tens of thousands of troops from elsewhere to resist our National Army on this first group of battlefields, but

to no avail. In such a situation, the Vietnamese enemy seems to be on the defensive and in the position of defending his strategic transportation line to the western part of Cambodia. Since the Vietnamese enemy must continue to mobilize forces to defend this strategic throat and resist our forces, if he fails to resist us, he will certainly be suffocated to death.

For this reason, the Hanoi political leadership has analyzed the situation as follows: First, if the Vietnamese enemy continues to mobilize forces to resist our National Army on the western battlefield, he will surely die. Second, if he continues to mobilize and withdraw forces from the eastern and central regions of Cambodia and to withdraw a major portion of his forces from the first group of battlefields to resist and attack us in the western part of Cambodia, there will be two possibilities. The first is that he may be able to withstand us for a while, taking the opportunity to launch propaganda in the service of his deceitful diplomacy. The second is that he may remain in the same desperate situation on all battlefields in Cambodia, particularly in the first group of battlefields and the western battlefield, because he has been stalemated.

The Vietnamese enemy will not be able to resolve this situation in the face of our National Army's guerrilla warfare and guerrilla tactics on all battlefields throughout the country, particularly those in the first group and the western region battlefield. This is because if the Vietnamese enemy withdraws his forces from the first group of battlefields to help their colleagues or to resist us in the western part of Cambodia, there will be a vacuum on the battlefields in the first group, thus enabling our National Army to attack him--his manpower, commune and district authorities, economic bases, and transport routes--in the first group of battlefields and to launch sweeping operations in areas deep inside Cambodia and closer to Phnom Penh. Moreover, it will be more convenient for our forces, which are in a better position than the Vietnamese enemy in terms of manpower, war materiel, and food supplies, to attack and smash more Vietnamese forces that have been mobilized and sent to resist or attack us on the western region battlefield. As for the Vietnamese enemy, who has to transport troops, war materiel, and food supplies from far away to this area, he will not be able to continue to fight for very long.

## 2. The Vietnamese enemy's measures in the 7th dry season:

Realizing that the failure of his attempt to continue to mobilize forces to resist us in the area considered to be his strategic throat means his death, the measures taken by the Vietnamese enemy are to mobilize forces to resist and attack us in the western part of Cambodia. This is the decision that the Vietnamese political leadership in Hanoi has ordered the Vietnamese joint command in Cambodia to carry out to the full, saying that this is a life-and-death plan that must be executed at all costs. In following this plan, the Vietnamese enemy has taken various major measures as follows:

First, he has mobilized the majority of his forces to resist and attack us in the western part of Cambodia. Second, he has sent weaponry provided by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries, particularly artillery and

tanks, to this part of Cambodia. Third, he has intensified his fascist policy of forcibly recruiting the sons and people of Cambodia to serve as his strategic reinforcements. Fourth, he has intensified his fascist policy against the Cambodian people by forcing them in whole communes, districts, and even in whole provinces to trek to the western part of Cambodia in order to clear brush and build roads for him.

By arranging forces in this way, the Vietnamese enemy's offensive aim in the western part of Cambodia is: First, to send his intelligence and commando units to launch attacks inside Thai territory 1 to 10 km from the border; second, to attack our war materiel and military means, such as artillery, motor vehicles, roads, bridges, and radio receivers; third, to attack our transport lines so as to prevent us from supplying the battle-fields in the first group; and fourth, to attack our command posts, from the regimental level upward.

In order to realize his 4-point offensive aims, the Vietnamese enemy has set up and is using a special unit called the A-5 shock force, which is used as an intelligence and shock force. However, the Vietnamese enemy himself has admitted that this unit does not have enough manpower and the cadres at the low levels lack the will to fight and are unfamiliar with military geography. Aside from this, the Vietnamese enemy has used forces from his infantry regiments in Cambodia and has sent a number of infantry regiments from Laos--especially from the 305th Division--and a large number of specialized forces--artillery, tank, commando, and intelligence forces--and forces specializing in various other fields from northern Vietnam to Cambodia. He has increased the number of his aircraft, which have been more active than in the 6th dry season.

#### Our observations and measures:

1. The Vietnamese enemy aggressors desire to annex Cambodia as they did Kampuchea Kraom. Our people and National Army, however, have united more closely and struggled against the Vietnamese enemy aggressors during the past 6 years, thus inflicting more serious difficulties on the Vietnamese enemy aggressors with every passing year to the point that they have almost been choked to death in all fields--political, military, diplomatic, and economic--both in Cambodia and Vietnam. On the military field, the Vietnamese enemy aggressors have faced more serious difficulties and total impasse because they have been unable to repulse our National Army, which has launched attacks against them in areas deep inside Cambodia, and because our National Army's moving closer to Phnom Penh constitutes a direct threat to them. This is why the political leadership of the Vietnamese enemy aggressors has resolved to mobilize manpower and war materiel to attack us in the western part of Cambodia. In such a situation, we see clearly that the Vietnamese enemy aggressors are not on the offensive. They are, in fact, on the defensive and are resisting us in order to have a little time to draw their breath and launch propaganda in the service of their tricky diplomacy. This is because such measures cannot resolve their difficult situation on the Cambodian battlefield. Although the Vietnamese enemy aggressors have mobilized more manpower and war materiel from the

eastern and central parts of Cambodia to resist and attack us in the western region, still our National Army has been able to attack them on the eastern region battlefield and has intensified attacks against them on the first group of battlefields. We have also been able to attack the Vietnamese enemy aggressors on the western region battlefield, aiming mainly at smashing more manpower and war materiel of the Vietnamese enemy.

2. Our measures are:

First, implement in a lively way the principles of defending ourselves by launching offensives or launching offensives to defend ourselves.

Second, actively intensify activities against the first group of battlefields by penetrating deeper into this area, implementing the five attack tactics, and attacking the Vietnamese forces that the Vietnamese enemy aggressors are sending to the western region. We must wear out, smash, and sweep the Vietnamese forces from the first group of battlefields. In particular, we must attack the Vietnamese enemy's large and small transport lines and small and medium-size commune townships in the first group of battlefields to disperse and destroy as many Vietnamese political, administrative, and economic networks as possible, free and urge the people to fight more actively against the Vietnamese enemy aggressors, and expand our guerrilla base and liberated zone to a greater extent. Launching attacks in this way on the first battlefields is tantamount to strangling this Vietnamese strategic throat until it is seriously suffocated. If this strategic throat is blocked, the Vietnamese forces in the western part of Cambodia will also suffer lack of breathing air. Briefly speaking, the Vietnamese forces in the western part of Cambodia depend on this strategic throat in the first group of battlefields.

Third, we have arranged with a lively sense of mastery the defense of our commands at all levels, materiel stores, water systems, and transport routes. We must continue this work with successful results and a lively sense of mastery. Successfully carrying out this work is tantamount to totally frustrating the Vietnamese enemy's scheme in this 7th dry season.

Fourth, the western region constitutes a combat zone between armies. On this battlefield, we must strive to inflict maximum damage on the Vietnamese in this 7th dry season by implementing our guerrilla tactics in a multi-form and lively manner and with a constant sense of mastery and initiative. We must implement our attack principles and tactics as follows:

First, we must organize attack forces in the pattern of intertwining vines. Second, we must organize forces to monitor the movement of enemy forces day and night and attack them wherever we meet them; attack their transport routes; ambush their reconnaissance units; launch mine attacks; plant landmines on their transport routes; attack them from the flanks and the rear; and use artillery to attack the Vietnamese tanks, artillery, and so forth. Briefly speaking, we must launch attacks in the pattern of intertwining vines to complicate the Vietnamese enemy and wear out its forces. We must

attack the Vietnamese enemy forces everywhere--from the front, from the flanks, and at the rear--cutting them into portions. Each unit must attack the enemy forces without letup and pursue them day and night. Do not implement the tactic of attack and retreat. The Vietnamese forces in the western part of Cambodia have many weak points because they depend totally on the strategic throat in the first group of battlefields. If this strategic throat is blocked, the Vietnamese forces in the western region will also suffer in all aspects. Therefore, after being attacked by our forces for a certain period of time, the Vietnamese enemy aggressors will suffer losses in terms of manpower, war materiel, and food supplies and will not be able to carry out their scheme [sentence as heard]. Moreover, in December 1984 we attacked an important regimental position of the A-5 special force at O Popul, killing or wounding many enemy soldiers and destroying a large quantity of their war materiel. We also killed a Vietnamese lieutenant colonel, who was the deputy chief of staff of the A-5 special force. Since November last year, we have smashed a larger number of Vietnamese soldiers than in the 6th dry season. We also smashed many regular forces of the A-5 special force during the same period.

The Vietnamese enemy's so-called strong points:

1. Capable of using commando units;
2. Capable of using intelligence units;
3. Capable of using artillery and tanks;
4. Still having many tricks and maneuvers in store for us; and
5. Capable of concentrating some forces.

We have been attacking these strong points of the Vietnamese enemy, thus causing it constant difficulties. We must continue to attack the Vietnamese enemy as follows:

1. Pursue the Vietnamese forces day and night;
2. Attack the Vietnamese intelligence units;
3. Attack the Vietnamese transport routes by various methods;
4. Use our artillery to repulse and destroy the Vietnamese artillery and tanks;
5. Launch tough and relentless attacks.

As the patriots who attack the Vietnamese enemy aggressors who want to annex Cambodia and exterminate the Cambodian race, we must double and even triple our toughness and relentless in dealing with the Vietnamese. We must firmly adhere to the principles of patriotism in defending our people and race and attack the Vietnamese enemy aggressors and race

exterminators, the murderers of our Cambodian people. We are the defenders of our nation and the justice-lovers who fight the aggressors. So far and until today, our National Army has been fighting arduously against the Vietnamese enemy aggressors with a lofty sense of heroism and [words indistinct]. We have been fighting and pursuing the Vietnamese enemy aggressors with a lively sense of mastery and without letup. It is imperative to expand these activities of our National Army. The situation in general is developing favorably for us. The situation is unfavorable for the Vietnamese enemy. Four months of the 7th dry season have elapsed. There are now only 3 more months before the 7th dry season comes to an end. Therefore, we have fought against the Vietnamese enemy aggressors for over half of the current 7th dry season by winning successive victories. We must carry on our struggle against the Vietnamese enemy in order to end this 7th dry season with even greater victories. We must clearly grasp the following main guidelines:

1. Continue to actively attack the Vietnamese enemy in the first group of battlefields in accordance with our five attack tactics;
2. Defend our command posts, depots, and transport routes with a sense of mastery; and
3. Attack the Vietnamese forces in the western region to cause great losses to them.

[Dated] 31 January 1985

[Signed] The Supreme Command of the Democratic Kampuchean National Army

CSO: 4212/40

CAMBODIA

BRIEFS

AFGHANISTAN, CUBA CONGRATULATE HUN SEN--Phnom Penh, 8 Feb (SPK)--Hun Sen has received congratulations from his Afghan and Cuban counterparts on his election to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Sultan Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, says: "I am confident that the ties of friendship and the all-sided cooperation between our two countries will further develop and consolidate for the benefit of our peoples and in the interests of peace and progress in the world." He wished Hun Sen good health and success on his new tasks, and Kampuchea further progress and prosperity. Cuba's Premier Fidel Castro Ruz says: "On this occasion, we reiterate our people's support for the just struggle of the Kampuchean people and wish you new and greater successes in fulfilling your noble task." [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1111 GMT 8 Feb 84 BK]

POLISH FLOOD RELIEF--Phnom Penh, 10 Feb (SPK)--The Polish Red Cross has presented a quantity of humanitarian relief to victims of recent floods in Kampuchea. The relief, 315 kg of medicine, was delivered in Phnom Penh Saturday by Polish Ambassador Ludwik Klockowski to Yit Simseng, minister of public health and president of the flood relief committee. Kampuchea Red Cross General Secretary May Samed was on hand. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1137 GMT 10 Feb 85 BK]

THAI 'VIOLATIONS' OF TERRITORY CITED--Phnom Penh, 5 Feb (SPK)--In the week ended on 31 January, Thailand's artillery and mortars, in support of Khmer reactionaries, made 6,000 shellings on Kampuchea's populated border areas, causing [words indistinct] in lives and property to the people. Their targets were along the border of the Provinces of Siem Reap-Oddar Meanchey and Battambang. In the same period, Thai L-19 and F-5 aircraft made five reconnaissance flights over areas 20 km along the border of Koh Kong Province and over the Poipet-Phnum Malai sector. Meanwhile Thailand's vessels made 256 intrusions into Kampuchean waters from seven to 25 miles off Koh Kong and Koh Tang islands. The same week the Kampuchean revolutionary armed forces, supported by the Vietnamese volunteer Army, put out of action 187 Khmer reactionaries and seized 58 guns and a quantity of ammunition and other war materials. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1111 GMT 5 Feb 85 BK]

WOOD EXPORTS INCREASE--Phnom Penh, 1 Feb (SPK)--Kampuchea's wood exports last year chalked up a threefold increase over 1983. In 1983, the country turned

out 90,000 cubic metres of timber, 27,200 cubic metres of sawed wood, 200,400 cubic metres of firewood, 10,600 tonnes of charcoal and nearly three million bamboos and trees for construction. This year forest products are expected to increase by more than 50 percent over 1984. Moreover, a plan for re-afforestation of the northeastern provinces has been made for five or ten years to come. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1116 GMT 1 Feb 85 BK]

USSR TRADE UNIONISTS RECEIVED--Phnom Penh, 30 Jan (SPK)--Men Sam-an, member, and president of the Commission for Propaganda and Education of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, received in Phnom Penh Tuesday a delegation of the All-Union Central Council of the Trade Unions of the USSR led by Tamara Inaksimova [spelling as received], member of the Central Council on a visit to Kampuchea. Men Sam-an informed her Soviet guest of the development in all domains in Kampuchea which, she said, has encouraged the Kampuchean people to master the country. Noting the firm advance of the Kampuchean revolution, Men Sam-an thanked the party, government, and people of the Soviet Union for their precious assistance to the Kampuchean people in their national construction and defence and pointed out that the visit will contribute to the further consolidation of the fraternal friendship between Kampuchea and the Soviet Union. For her part, Tamara Inaksimova expressed her joy at the prosperous rebirth of the Kampuchean people. She also praised the Kampuchean people for having overcome numerous difficulties and expressed her conviction that they will score even greater successes. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1107 GMT 30 Jan 85 BK]

'BANDITS' HIT BY REVOLUTIONARY FORCES--All stripes of bandits hiding in the forests along the Cambodian-Thai border are panic-stricken because of the repeated sweep operations launched by our revolutionary forces. Recently, after ascertaining the location of the bandits' hideout at (?Hill 204) on the border from where they frequently launched raids to rob our people in the remote positions of their property and rice, a contingent of "D" brigade in close cooperation with the Vietnamese volunteer forces conducted a sweep operation with brilliant success. Following a battle which lasted about [words indistinct], our comrades-in-arms put out of action more than 100 enemy elements and captured 3 others. They also seized 155 assorted guns and a large quantity of war materiel. [Text] [Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1200 GMT 29 Jan 85 BK]

ANGOLAN MESSAGE TO HENG SAMRIN--Comrade Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee and chairman of the PRK Council of State, recently received a message of greetings from Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the Angolan Popular Liberation Movement Workers Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola. The message stressed: I extend new year wishes to Chairman Heng Samrin and wish you the best of health and prosperity. [Text] [Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1300 GMT 29 Jan 85 BK]

CSO: 4212/40

INDONESIA

ARABIA VIEWS COUNTRY'S DEVELOPMENTS

East Burnham ARABIA in English Dec 84 pp 25-35

[Text]  Indonesian political life is dominated by a culture of silence. In this largest of Muslim countries, democracy exists with authoritarian values, parliament functions without independent parliamentarians and political parties survive without politics. Islam is present everywhere — but is denied any positive role in the organisation of state and society.

The 1945 constitution, once accepted as the guiding force in the running of the country's political and economic affairs, is a dead letter. The armed forces are the final arbiter of power and the president is a law unto himself. The media, once promised freedom of expression, is now muzzled. Those who first fought for independence from the Dutch colonialists in the 1940s and later struggled in 1965 to remove the communist-backed regime of Sukarno, have now been rendered powerless.

Many observers feel that Indonesia's military rulers are taking the country back to the pre-colonial Javanese system of government. In this, control of the political structure, power and wealth were concentrated in the hands of rulers isolated at the top and protected from criticism and correction from below. The ruler in that system was regarded as infallible.

The New Order established by Suharto in 1966 has brought about a situation in which the military, bureaucracy and big business thrive at the expense of Indonesia's impoverished masses. This is evident from the growth of new businesses which provide welfare to the families of the officer corps, soldiers and bureaucrats. Most of these enterprises are joint ventures with foreign capital, especially Chinese. The cooperation of

the military regime with foreign capitalists in the exploitation of Kalimantan's timber resources is an outstanding example.

A number of supposedly non-profit making foundations, like Jaisan Kita and Jaisan Dharamputra, have emerged as giant commercial and industrial empires. Jaisan Kita is headed by Tien Suharto, wife of the president, together with the wives of other prominent generals in Suharto's ruling clique. It controls a wide range of service and production industries. Jaisan Dharamputra, run by the families of the Army Strategic Command (Kostrad), controls airlines, banks, cinemas, and rubber mills.

Another foundation, Jaisan Mangadek, is also headed by Tien Suharto. Its apparent purpose is to preserve and maintain heirlooms belonging to the Mangkunegaran, one of the royal houses of Surakarta (central Java) to which Mrs Suharto is related by birth. The foundation is managed by Sukmdani, general chairman of the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Officially organised military businesses exist at all levels. In Central Java the provincial military command owns housing estates, printing presses, petrol stations, sugar mills, rice mills, tea and rubber estates, hotels, theatres, manganese and copper mines and construction firms.

The burgeoning of profit-making opportunities for conveniently placed members of the bureaucracy has been made possible by the inflow of more foreign capital. It has led to a complicated web of business relationships linking the military, the Chinese elite and the civilian bureaucracy. The perpetuation of these practices is a direct result of the regime's determination to guarantee Indonesia's

place in the political and economic structure of the western capitalist world by which it is sustained.

The alliance of business, military and bureaucratic interests has resulted in an economic system where the traditional preeminence of the agricultural sector has been overtaken by industry. In a country where 79 per cent of the population is rural, agriculture produces just 30 per cent of GDP compared to industry's 33 per cent. In 1983 external debt from private sources was about \$6,750m and from public sector sources around \$15,000m.

Compounding the problems, corruption prevails.

## POLITICS

# New Order, but old-style state coercion

If Sukarno — who dominated the political scene of Indonesia from 1956 to 1965 — is held responsible for turning the parliamentary democracy into a form of authoritarianism dubbed "guided democracy," then his successor President Suharto is blamed for institutionalising military rule under the banner of "Pancasila" democracy.

General Suharto assumed emergency powers in 1966 after the military crackdown on the communists and used these powers to establish his "New Order." In March 1967 the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly decided to remove Sukarno from office and named Suharto as the president. The New Order raised new hope, new objectives and new determination, reviving the enthusiasm shown in the early years of independence for building up a new state and society in Indonesia. The New Order used the concept of Pancasila democracy quite frequently but it also confirmed the philosophy expressed in the 1945 constitution, and in its early days there was close cooperation between the various groups and organisations to counter the dangers besetting the country.

The atmosphere of cooperation was appreciated and recognised by Lt General Sarwo Edhia, who was then a colonel in RPKAD (Army Para Commando Regiment). The late General Ali Moertopo, then a Lt Colonel, approached

the late Prawoto Mangkusamito to discuss methods for recruiting members of the Muslim Youth Movement to assist the intelligence agency in Central Java. Even the detained Muslim leaders were contacted to facilitate initial discussions between Indonesia and Malaysia to end the longstanding conflict between the two countries, and an Indonesian delegation under Admiral Syaaf met with the Malaysian prime minister Tengku Abdur Rahman in Kuala Lumpur to overcome the differences. At an army seminar in Bandung at the same time, a suggestion was made to revive the Masyumi (Muslim Party) and the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI) that had been dissolved by the ancien regime.

But the honeymoon between the people, their organisations, and the military regime did not last long and soon the real intentions of those in power became known. The first political institution to suffer was the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly. After the inauguration of Suharto as president, a large group led by Golongan, a close aide of Suharto, refused to participate in the proceedings and the working committee of the assembly. As a result, the assembly and its working committee became paralysed. The assembly did not dissolve itself nor was it dissolved — it merely disappeared from the Indonesian political scene. Before its emasculation it did leave a "white paper" addressed to the people which was thereupon seized by the Kopkamtib (Security and Order Operation Command). This command was established during the transitory period between the Sukarno and Suharto eras (early in October 1965), and its main task was to suppress the communist rebellion — but it was soon given other responsibilities, such as preventing the Muslim community from organising a national convention in 1969.

So gradually and systematically there took place what may be described as "a readjustment" in the country's social and political life, with the regime using the methods of persuasion and coercion to implement its political will. In the first general election under the New Order in 1971 — besides the ABRI (armed forces) and Golkar Party — seven political parties succeeded in maintaining their presence in the parliament, but these were considered too numerous and by persuasive methods their numbers were reduced to only two. All Muslim parties were persuaded to merge into the United Development Party

(PPP), while the secular and Christian parties were united in the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI). The Pancasila principles were included in the political parties' constitutions without eliminating the original party principles, but these programmes were not allowed to express the parties' ideological identities.

Formally the readjustment appeared to be successful, but it soon gave way to factionalism and infighting. Whenever internal battles got out of control the Kopkamtib intervened; members who did not adapt to the tune of the regime were unseated from parliament and those who had some sense of self respect resigned. National conventions, which are routinely organised by the parties every two or three years, were not allowed — the PDI has had only one convention in the last thirteen years, while the PPP was allowed to hold its first national conference in August this year to endorse Pancasila as the sole principle of party ideology. The conventions allowed have been government affairs rather than party affairs. Recently when the Indonesian Council of Mosques was allowed to hold its national convention to endorse the philosophy of Pancasila, the government provided all facilities; while for the PPP convention the government paid all expenses, which included accommodation in a luxury hotel.

In fact parties, in the real sense of the term, do not exist in Indonesia. The Golkar is the only party that is encouraged to widen its scope, with every government employee being persuaded by superiors to join — the membership application form having already been completed in full, only to be signed on the dotted line. The government says that there is no coercion, but it would take a courageous person to oppose official requests that they sign. There exists a government order which bans the participation of government employees in political activities, but this rule is being openly violated in favour of the Golkar Party (see box).

The mass media too is feeling the tight grip of the government. Under the New Order, four major newspapers were closed down in 1974 — the *Indonesia Raya*, the *Pedoman*, the *Nusantara* and the *Abadi*. The *Pelita Daily*, the purpose of which was to put forward the views of the Muslim community, has been disciplined by the Kopkamtib because it dared expose some of the deviations that took place during the 1982 general elections.

Moreover, all religious sermons and

lectures are under constant scrutiny by the authorities. In Indonesian political life there no longer exists any platform for political expression — the rights that were guaranteed in Article 28 of the 1945 constitution for citizens to form associations and to express freely their opinions simply do not now exist.

## PANCASILA

# Selective application of principles

Indonesia was under Dutch colonial rule for more than three centuries and under Japanese occupation for about three years, but political institutions dominating the country today came into being after 1945.

In the mid-1940s, when defeat for the Japanese during the second world war was only a matter of time, the Indonesian leaders began laying the foundations for a new state. (The term "leaders" here refers to those people who by chance had some educational background — mostly secular education — and were in Java at that time. They were not the genuine representatives of all the people living in the many islands that were then called the Republic of Indonesia).

At least two trends emerged during the sessions of the Investigating Committee for the Preparation of Independence (BPUK) in 1945. The Christians and Muslims from a secular background wanted the future Indonesia to be a secular state. They were inspired by the secular ideas of organisations such as the Budi Utomo (founded in 1908), the National Party of Indonesia/PNI (1927) and Partindo/Indonesian Party (1931). This idea was not acceptable to the Muslim leaders, who wanted an independent Indonesia to be based on Islam, the religion of the majority of people.

A compromise was reached after Sukarno, representing the secularist group, introduced a new philosophy called Pancasila, the five principles (from the Sanskrit words *panca* meaning "five" and *sila* meaning "principles"). The Pancasila principles are: belief in One Supreme God; Indonesian unity; people's

sovereignty; humanitarianism; and social justice. A formula for agreement between the two groups was written down in a document known later as the Jakarta Charter. The words "with the obligation to carry out the Islamic Sharia to Muslims" were added to the first principle of "belief in One Supreme God." In this context, it is clearly understood that belief in One Supreme God is purely an Islamic concept.

However, the Islamic provision in this "gentlemen's agreement" was successfully omitted by the secularist group when the document officially became the preamble to the constitution on August 18, 1945, one day after Indonesia proclaimed its independence. According to Dr Mohammad Hatta, the first vice president of Indonesia, the omission of the Islamic provision was on the insistence of the colonial power that it would not be acceptable to Christians in the country. Dr Hatta's statement was confirmed by General Simatupang, a prominent Protestant leader, when he declared that the omission of the clause was due to Christian opposition. Since then undeclared secularism has taken place, step by step, in Indonesia.

The Constituent Assembly, containing members chosen in the first free election, was dissolved by President Sukarno in 1959 and a year later some political parties were banned by the government. Sukarno at this time introduced the Nasakom, an amalgamation of national, communist and religious ideas. This part of Indonesian history was called the period of "guided democracy." The constitution was interpreted by Sukarno to suit his own purpose and in order to safeguard the existing regime. He made himself president for life.

Following the failure of the communist coup attempt in 1965, power shifted to General Suharto. The army was allowed for the first time to control civil administration and army ministers, army governors, army directors, army university presidents and so on are a special feature of the post-Sukarno regime. The double function (Dwi Fungsi) of the army has been rationalised by the government as a necessity to safeguard Pancasila and the constitution, and army personnel emerged as the protectors of Pancasila.

But who are the people genuinely loyal to Pancasila? This question is not easy to answer in the present Indonesian political climate. Since Pancasila is supposed to be

self-explanatory, no official interpretation of it is available. This is the dilemma caused by such a diffuse idea as Pancasila — its meaning can be altered according to the wishes of the few who are in power.

The first principle, belief in One Supreme God — though Islamic in its historical context — is no longer related to Islam in its present context. Many movements with a Hindu-Javanese background were recognised in 1973 by the MPR (People's Consultative Assembly) and included under the belief in One Supreme God. They failed to be recognised by the Ministry for Religious Affairs alongside the other five recognised religions in the country, but were accorded facilities by the Ministry of Education and Culture. For most people, the first principle is a kind of ritual declaration without real meaning.

No answer has been given as to whether belief in One Supreme God should be taken in conjunction with the four other principles or whether each should stand independently. In other words, should one listen to God only with belief in His existence, or should other principles also be within the framework of the teaching of the recognised religions? The late General Ali Murtopo, a principal ideologue and policymaker of the Suharto regime, put forward the argument that the first principle of Pancasila did not imply any formal religious belief but rather a broad "democratic theism."

One article of the constitution does say that the state guarantees the right of each citizen to worship according to his or her religion and faith. One of the constitution's formulators, Dr Mohammad Hatta, said that the word "faith" (kepercayaan) in that article means faith in religion. Later developments as in the case of mystic (kebatinan) movements indicate that "belief" in the constitution does not necessarily mean belief in religion. So, just a few decades after independence, clauses in the constitution are being misinterpreted.

It seems that the first principle of Pancasila has been understood as merely a belief in God in general, without specific attributes, definite concepts or specific demands — a God that is inconsequential, indifferent and undefinable; who orders nothing, prohibits nothing and gives neither reward nor punishment.

This understanding of One Supreme God is illustrated by the curricula of "Pancasila education" written in 1982.

Pancasila education has become an obligatory subject in schools from nursery to university levels. Schoolchildren are taught that all religions are the same because they demand that people be of

**With the grain...workers take a break during the rice harvest**

good conduct. Quotations were included from scriptural texts of Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Hinduism, but the textbooks of Pancasila education were subsequently revised following severe criticism from the Muslim masses.

Another attempt to impose these concepts was made through the Family Law Bill, drafted by the government in 1973. Article 10 of the bill, for example, said among other things that differences in religion and beliefs would not hinder any marriage. This provision meant that a religious marriage had no meaning on the national level. After much debate and resistance from the public, the government felt compelled to revise the bill to suit Muslim demands.

The principle of national unity within Pancasila is a substitute for the concept of nationalism in Indonesian terms. Indonesia is an archipelago that consists of more than 3,000 inhabited islands with a wide variety of ethnic groups, languages, customs and religions. The development of Bahasa Indonesia (the official Indonesian language) is of course a great achievement and is due to modern education, mass media and satellite communications: but there are still problems requiring immediate solutions.

The phenomena of Javanisation of the country is seen in some quarters as a threat to national unity, while in practice, Indonesianisation has become identical with Javanisation. Important army and government posts are in the hands of the Javanese. New terminology in cultural, political, social and other fields with alien origins have been publicised, when Islamic terms with Arabic origins have been gradually withdrawn from public use. People are discouraged from giving Islamic names to their newborn babies, and typical Muslim names are no longer common among the "New Order" generation.

The third principle, the people's sovereignty, is probably the most controversial issue in contemporary Indonesian politics. In Sukarno's time, this sovereignty was understood as liberal and guided democracy; during Suharto's regime, the term is used to rationalise the

existing regime and the measures taken to maintain the status quo. In the whole history of Indonesia, not more than one candidate has ever been nominated for the presidency. General elections are, of course, held every five years, but long before the election takes place everyone in the country knows that the winner will be the government party.

Sukarno, the father of Pancasila philosophy, never mentioned the meaning of interpretation of the fourth principle, humanitarianism, in conceptual or philosophical terms. In the official text it is stated as: "The fair and civilised humanism" (Kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab). "Fair" and "civilised" often appear to be only what is considered fair and civilised by those behind government policy. In this respect, Indonesia is criticised by Amnesty International for many injustices and violations of human rights including the practice of political torture and killings.

One of the background notes to an Amnesty International news release reports that "it is local military commanders who have the power to arrest, interrogate and permit the use of extreme and brutal torture." The "mysterious killings" in which thousands of people have been murdered on the spot without trial are still being reported by the world's media. Those killed were believed to have committed serious crimes, but ordinary people are never informed of what is actually going on in their own country.

Finally the remaining Pancasila principle of "social justice" for all Indonesians is still an idealist concept which is not implemented in daily social and political life. Social justice, in practice, is not for those who have opinions that differ from those in power. The misuse of power and widespread corruption by the ruling elite are known to the people but are difficult to prove — the late Dr Hatta is reported to have said that corruption in Indonesia has brought about "civilised crimes" within government bureaucracies.

## LEGISLATION

# Five bills lay foundations of absolutism

In the view of Indonesia's iron man, General Suharto, the adoption of Pancasila as the official state ideology has settled once and for all the question concerning the political identity of the country — but in the opinion of the country's best known politicians and former militarymen, the imposition of Pancasila has totally mutilated the democratic principles enshrined in the 1945 constitution.

Muhammed Natsir, a former prime minister, and General Nasution, a former armed forces chief of staff, are among those prominent Indonesians who have bitterly attacked the Suharto regime for its autocratic practices. The attack was made in an 80-page booklet "Save Democracy," published in August on the eve of the country's 34th celebration of independence. They argue that the regime is curbing the country's already controlled political institutions and is consolidating all executive powers in the president and the armed forces, and they emphasise that democracy has become paralysed and society submissive.

Their attack on the regime follows the introduction of five bills in parliament in June this year covering new regulations on elections, political parties, community organisations, the national assembly and referenda. Once approved, these bills will institutionalise the growing authoritarianism of the regime. Presently the bills are being scrutinised by a special committee, but in a country dominated by Suharto's armed forces there is little likelihood that such examination will effectively change their original character.

Indonesia's politics works in a mysterious manner. Democracy is practised without adherence to the principles of freedom of opinion and expression. In theory two political parties, the United Development Party (PPP) and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) are permitted, while in practice the so-called Sekber Golkar works as the political wing of the regime. The recently submitted bills are so formulated that the PPP and PDI will lose their independent political status.

One of the bills deals with the composition of the consultative assembly (MPR), parliament (DPR) and regional and local councils (DPRO). Under the new regulations the MPR will have 1,000 members, nearly 600 of whom will be appointed and 400 will be the elected members of the parliament. The appointed members will include 200 from the armed forces, 200 from the various regions, 100 from functional groups and 100 from the Golkar and other political parties. The 400 parliamentarians will be elected at the general elections from among candidates pre-selected by the Golkar and other parties with the approval of the regime. In the existing parliament nearly 55 per cent of the members belong to the Golkar Party. In the consultative assembly these elected Golkar members will constitute 25 per cent of the total members, which means that the regime will have 60 per cent of the appointed members and 25 per cent of the elected members on its side. With an 85 per cent majority the regime will be able to impose its will without being challenged from any quarter — and as the political parties are dominated by men close to the president, the remaining 15 per cent of the members of the consultative assembly will also support the regime.

Such a situation will lead to the gradual elimination of the so-called independent political parties, and in the end there will be only one party left in the assembly — that of the president. The composition of the consultative assembly is not the only deterrent to the growth of democracy and political parties. Another bill concentrates on election symbols, under which the existing political parties will be forced to change their election symbols in accordance with the principles contained in the official Pancasila ideology. The bill says that a symbol "which reflects the fact that the party concerned has adopted Pancasila as its sole party principle" should be chosen.

Election symbols play a vital role in a country where a large number of the people are illiterate. The general public is unable to grasp the campaign speeches of the individual parties; for them, the party symbols are more eloquent than speeches and help to identify the party's followers and members with the party. The replacement of the Kaaba symbol of the PPP by a new unfamiliar symbol will undoubtedly reduce its vote in the elections, as the party has gained many votes merely because the party principles,

which are devoid of Islamic elements, were represented by the Kaaba. The structural bonds existing between the PPP and its followers will certainly grow weaker, if not disappear completely, and it can be anticipated that in the next general elections votes for the two parties — which together currently share 25 per cent of the parliamentary seats — will be depleted.

Another issue which has figured in one of the five bills is referenda. It seems that the regime is not fully confident of its overwhelming support in the consultative assembly so it has introduced a bill allowing the use of referenda to settle constitutional issues. According to the constitution, a referendum is a direct vote cast by the people individually without any discussion or consultation. A referendum is an unfamiliar institution for the majority of Indonesian people, and experience with the procedure in other countries reveals that it can easily be manipulated by the establishment to get its policies approved.

In Indonesia, where all centres of power are dominated by the armed forces, it would not be difficult for the regime to secure 99 per cent support for any constitutional amendment — and the examples of Sadat's Egypt or Zia-ur-Rahman's Bangladesh indicate that a referendum often results in a 100 per cent victory. Interestingly the provision of referenda on constitutional amendments contravenes section 37 of the 1945 constitution, which states that an amendment can be carried by a two-thirds majority of the members of the consultative assembly.

The bill on community organisations also violates the 1945 constitution, which says that the aim of the Indonesian people is "a republic founded on the people's sovereign powers, based on belief in the Almighty, monotheistic God and civilised humanitarianism, and a democracy guided by wisdom through consultation and representation to achieve social justice for the entire Indonesian nation." The bill instead asks the organisations to adjust their ideological principles to the will of the regime. Last year representatives of the five officially recognised faiths — Islam, Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism and Hinduism — asked of the government that they be allowed to function on the basis of their particular ideology. They did not oppose Pancasila; rather they aim at "giving guidance to their members to

become followers of their religion while also being good Pancasila citizens."

The question of the subjugation of parties and community organisations to the official state ideology of Pancasila has been in discussion since 1968, when the government submitted a bill on political parties, mass organisations and functional groups. The 1968 bill wanted all organisations in Indonesia to adhere to Pancasila as the sole principle, but due to serious objections to the bill at that time the matter was deferred for the future. In 1982 the issue figures once again. Even then, the interdenominational consultative body comprising the Indonesian Council of Ulema, the Indonesian Council of Churches, the Indonesian Council of Bishops, the Central Parisadha Hindu Dharma and representatives of the Indonesian Buddhist community made it clear that the religious councils and the communal organisations follow their principles "in accordance with individual religious faith or belief."

The government has however ignored the body's statement of principle and article 1 of the bill on community organisation says "by community organisations are to be understood associations established voluntarily by Indonesian nationals, based on common professional activities, common religious functions and a common belief in the Almighty God," while article 2 states: "Community organisations shall be based on Pancasila as the sole principle." Article 8 prescribes that community organisations must be organised in one single vehicle for guidance and developed for individual common purposes; and article 12 affirms that the government will provide guidance for the community organisations to be regulated in a government ordinance.

Once the five bills are approved, Indonesia will be an absolutist state. Essentially there will be one party — the government's party, Golkar — supported by the armed forces, the Korpri (Corps of Civilian Government Employees) and other civilian agencies, both official and semi-official. The two parties will exist but will have only a peripheral position to that of the government party, and all non-political organisations will become the government's functional groups. The government will be assured of the support of nearly 85 per cent of the members of the consultative assembly, and the people will be totally under its control.

There are reports that the parliament will conduct an open hearing on these bills, but it is doubtful that there will be enough voices at the centre of power to express opposition to the absolutism of the regime. The leadership of the political parties have already stated that to support President Suharto is to help Indonesia regain stability and unity.

## ISLAM

# State seeks to bind Islamic organisations

Islamic organisations are deep-rooted in the history of Indonesia. The first Islamic organisation with a modern outlook was the Serikat Islam (Islamic Union) founded in 1905. Among its famous leaders were H.O.S Cokroaminoto and Haji Agus Salim. Muhammadiyah was founded by Ahman Dahlan in 1912. Both organisations spread to almost all the big islands of Indonesia.

More new Islamic organisations emerged in the 1930s and 1940s. Permi (Indonesian Muslim Union) in 1932 and PII (Islamic Party of Indonesia) in 1938, for instance, were very much inspired by the political aspect of Islam as pioneered by Serikat Islam (SI).

On the other hand, organisations like Nahdlatul Ulama (Renaissance of Ulama) were to some extent more concerned with the religious and fiqh (traditional Islamic jurisprudence) matters of the community. It was established in 1926 partly in reaction to the Muhammadiyah and other reform movements which had earlier begun to receive more acceptance among the Muslim people.

The later grouping of Islamic movements in the country has its roots in this early development. Representing the reformist movement embodied in the ideas of reformers like Muhammad Abdurrahman and Rashid Rida of Egypt, Muhammadiyah launched a campaign against traditional belief which had no direct reference to the Quran and the Sunnah. "Orang Muhammadiyah" (followers of Muhammadiyah) blame the taqlid (dogmatic following of schools). They do not confine themselves to any one school of Islamic jurisprudence (mazhab).

Muhammadiyah introduced new methods of dawa common among Christian missionaries by establishing hospitals, schools, orphanages, trade unions and other social organisations.

New practices introduced by Muhammadiyah and other reformist movements to open the door of ijihad, especially to some practices believed by the people to be Islamically true, were considered by the traditionalists such as Nahdlatul Ulama, as a threat to religious belief. Two rival Islamic organisations, Muhammadiyah and NU, were united in MIAI (Supreme Islamic Council of Indonesia) in 1937 which was later dominated by PSII (Islamic Union Party of Indonesia), the successor of the former SI. MIAI was replaced by Masyumi (Muslim Shura Council of Indonesia) after the Japanese occupation in 1943.

In November 1945, Muslim leaders representing various Islamic organisations decided in Yogyakarta (Central Java) that the Masyumi should be the only Islamic party in Indonesia to represent all Muslims in the country. This meant that Muslims had one voice and one representative in the political field, but unfortunately this unity did not last long. The first major split in Masyumi came with the exit of PSII in 1948, to be followed by NU in 1952. This caused a great upset in political Islam in Indonesia. In the first general election in the mid-1950s each Islamic group campaigned for its own party. However they were united in the Constituent Assembly during the discussion of the constitution.

The basic issue for the assembly in Bandung (West Java) in the late 1950s was whether Indonesia should be based on the tenets of Islam or on secular ideas. Since both the Islamic and secular parties failed to obtain the two-thirds majority needed to change the constitution, no agreement was reached about this. Debates in the assembly ended in deadlock.

President Sukarno, who was becoming increasingly despotic, acted swiftly by dissolving the assembly. Soon after that, Sukarno dissolved the Masyumi party and PSI (Socialist Party of Indonesia.) He felt safer cooperating with the remaining soft-line parties like NU and Perti (Islamic Educational Union). The latter was established sometime before the first general election.

The Sukarno regime fell after the failure of the communist coup attempt in 1965. The Masyumi leaders and others were still in prison at this time. The

military government agreed to the people's demand for the immediate release of the political prisoners detained during the Sukarno regime.

The period after 1965 is often called "Orde Baru" (New Order), the previous regime being "Orde Lama" (Old Order). The freed Masyumi leaders and their Muslim supporters made efforts to rehabilitate their banned party. The Persahi (Indonesian Lawyers' Association) at its congress in August 1966, declared that the dissolution of Masyumi was illegal and unconstitutional. Some leaders were very optimistic that the rehabilitation of the Masyumi was near. Unfortunately, the endeavours throughout 1966 to achieve the restoration of Masyumi's right to participate in the country's political scene did not gain approval from the military government.

In the meantime, the BKAM (Cooperative Body of Muslim Efforts) was set up in 1965 to look into the possibility of establishing a new Islamic party to replace the Masyumi. Intensive negotiations at official and semi-official levels took place between the representatives of BKAM and the government. A committee consisting of Masyumi members and representatives of BKAM was set up in May 1967.

After long negotiations, the government agreed to allow the setting up of a new party on condition that some top Masyumi leaders should not be included in the central leadership. The new party was called PMI (Indonesian Muslims' Party), and later became famous as Parmusi. The first Parmusi congress was held in Malang (East Java) in November 1968, at which the formulation of the new leadership was announced. The conference was attended by representatives from all areas of Indonesia (except West Irian). Although the congress was held with the consent of the military government, the new leadership was still not acceptable to the government. General Alamsyah sent a telex to Malang informing the congress of the government's hesitation in accepting the changed party leadership at that particular moment.

The first general election during the New Order was held on July 3, 1971. The Islamic parties gained only 90 of the total 460 DPR (People's Representative Assembly) seats (PSII: 10, NU: 58, Parmusi: 20 and Perti: 2). The assembly had, of course, a Golkar majority. As a

minority in the DPR, the Islamic parties were unable to do much for the Islamic cause inside parliament.

In February 1973, the ten political parties participating in the 1971 election were, at government instigation, reduced to three: PDI (Democratic Development Party), PPP (United Development Party) and Golkar Party. Islamic parties (PSII, NU, Perti and Parmusi) were represented by PPP. By this amalgamation, the word "Islam" was removed from the official name of the Islamic Party, though the PPP was still allowed to put Islam beside Pancasila as the basis of its constitution.

Another move was made by the government through the MPR (People's Consultative Assembly) in 1983 to remove Islam totally from the PPP constitution. Since 1973, when the four Islamic parties were merged into PPP, each party had maintained its separate organisational structure as a non-political social organisation. PSII and Perti still exist but without much significance. Because Parmusi did not represent a particular organisation, it automatically ceased to exist with the birth of PPP. So now, Muhammadiyah and NU remain practically the only two Islamic organisations worthy of mention.

As mentioned earlier, Muhammadiyah has a footing in almost every province of Indonesia from North Sumatra in the northwest to West Irian in the east. Today it organises thousands of schools, a few universities in big cities, hundreds of hospitals, orphanages, various training colleges and other social services throughout Indonesia. NU, which is based mainly in Java, owns thousands of madrasahs (Islamic traditional schools) organised by the NU's religious scholars.

A fierce debate has been going on for the last year or so about the government's suggestion that the NU must replace its Islamic constitution with Pancasila. NU, which survived the Sukarno regime, made an effort to save the organisation by holding a national congress. It was resolved during the congress that NU agrees in principle to remove Islam from its constitution. On the other hand, Muhammadiyah resisted a similar move and its president has insisted that Muhammadiyah is an Islamic organisation.

It was Islam that moved the founders of this organisation to serve the community, and it is the spirit of Islam that has made Muhammadiyah flourish until today. If Islam is removed from Muhammadiyah, its president argues, it would no longer be an Islamic organisation.

# The challenge posed by Islam

Apprehensions that a collision between independent Muslim politicians and their followers and the military regime is inevitable in Indonesia have grown considerably after the recent rioting in the Jakarta suburb of Tanjung Priok, which claimed the lives of more than 25 people. The fact that Muslims in Jakarta and West Java took to the streets in opposition to the adoption of Pancasila as the state ideology suggests that the Muslim community will not take the government decision lying down and will try to assert its political will in matters concerning the future shape of state and society in Indonesia.

In the absence of any independent Muslim party the Muslim defiance is likely to manifest itself in a sporadic form, making it difficult for the regime to identify Muslim representatives through whom it may communicate with the general Muslim community. There exists no party in Indonesia which believes in Islam as its ideology. This does not mean that Muslims and their leaders have abandoned Islam — it means that no Muslim group is allowed to embody Islamic principles. The United Development Party (PPP), a coalition of Muslim groups, has been forced to replace Islam with Pancasila as its ideology. Symbolically the PPP has retained the links with Islam by using the Kaaba as its emblem, but after the approval of a recently submitted bill on party election symbols this minimum identification with Islam will also wither away.

Indonesia's many independent politicians including H M Sanusi, arrested in connection with Muslim protests in September this year, believe that the military regime — which has been in power for more than 18 years — has been making systematic efforts to reduce the role of Islam in the social and political life of the country. They point out that in 1973 all the major Muslim parties were forced to merge into the United Development Party (PPP), controlled and headed by President Suharto's trusted men. They also refer to various statements said to be made by Muslim ministers at the behest of President Suharto, saying that "Islam came to Indonesia to propagate the Quran and sunna and not to influence politics and economics." They feel that the gradual secularisation of Islam will widen the already existing schism between

the state and society, inducing Muslims to fight for their values at any cost. Above all, they argue that the imposition of Pancasila has violated the constitutional guarantees which ensure freedom of expression and consultation.

Islam is present in Indonesia not only as a mass religious force but also as a sociopolitical movement which has influenced the course of events in pre- and post-colonial Indonesia. During the colonial period it was the major inspiring ideology in the independence struggle and, in 1965, when under the Sukarno regime communists had threatened to change the ideological character of the state, Islam re-emerged as the major political force in defence of the people's values and freedom. This role of Islam is acknowledged and simultaneously feared most by the regime. President Suharto is well aware that Islam is the only ideology which has the power to challenge and criticise the regime, and this strength of Islam has created apprehension in the minds of the ruling elite who have tried to depoliticise it. Apparently President Suharto believes that by banning all Muslim parties and organisations the threat of Islam to his regime may be minimised — but the resentment shown by Muslims to his arbitrary imposition of Pancasila might prove him wrong in the long run.

Pancasila is mentioned in the constitution as one of the guiding principles in organising state affairs, but nowhere is it mentioned that the state will force all political groups and community organisations to subscribe to it. The acceptance of Pancasila as the sole state ideology has now raised several issues concerning the nature of the relationship between state and society. These issues are not only important for Muslims and their organisations but also for adherents of all the other religions. Foremost among these issues is should the state determine the ideology of social, political and religious organisations? Must the people adhere to what the regime imposes upon them, and have they no right to a public platform for their own ideas and opinions?

Any regime, however popular it may be, cannot force the political parties to abandon their ideology. If a regime tries to institutionalise the coercion, the society changes into an authoritarian and closed structure. This is what has actually

happened in Indonesia. Muslims are not allowed to form independent organisations with Islam as an ideology, and religion has been denied any role in public affairs — it being confined to the individual's private life. Such a definition of Islam and its role may be the result of the ideological convictions of the regime but it does not reflect the aspirations of the people, because at every moment of crisis in the national life the Muslim masses of Indonesia have organised their political struggle around Islam to defend their independence. The restrictions imposed on politics and religion do not only apply to Muslim parties but cover all the existing religious and community organisations. Since the number of other religious groups is insignificant in Indonesia, it is the Muslim community which is the main loser.

The second issue which has particularly drawn the attention of Muslims is the implication of the imposition of Pancasila on Indonesian society. The authoritarian attitude of the regime has created a situation in which Pancasila has emerged as a religion replacing Islam — a move which has wider repercussions for the religious society of Indonesia, and threatens the historical continuity of religious values. President Suharto is in a supreme position to filter his ideas through his government institutions, but the disorganised Muslim society, in the absence of all legitimate channels for airing their opposition to the totalitarian practices of the state, find it hard to react systematically.

This may give rise to clandestine Muslim groups at various levels countering Pancasila in their own limited way. Such activists have indeed already emerged on the scene — in West Java, some 20 people were arrested in October for distributing anti-regime pamphlets and cassette tapes. These acts are likely to increase because of the closed nature of Indonesian society. This situation poses a challenge to independent Muslim politicians because in their organisational skills and ability to mobilise political potential are grounded the hopes and aspirations of the Muslim community — which does not want its religious and political freedom to be curtailed in a country where it constitutes the overwhelming majority.

## INTERVIEW

# Nasution on regime's drive to secularise

General Dr Abdul Haris Nasution served as minister coordinator for defence and security and as chief of staff of the armed forces in 1963. He was the speaker of the Provisional People's Assembly from 1966 until the formation of MPR in 1971. Nasution has published several books on the country's military and political system, including an 11-volume history of Indonesia's war of independence. He is also co-author with Dr Mohammed Nafisir, former leader of the Masyumi Party (Islamist), of a declaration entitled "Save Democracy," which deplores the current lack of freedom in the country and calls for a more democratic government. Nasution spoke to *Arabia* recently.

You were one of the founders of the "New Order" in 1966. How do you feel about it now? How do you describe the present situation?

What has been going on is a clear deviation from our firm will which was to end the machiavellianism and to uphold truth and justice, to implement the people's mandate based on the Constitution. In 1978 and 1982, I sent a memorandum to the People's Assembly and the House of Representatives reminding them of (that objective). I explained in detail the deviations from the Constitution. Not a single member or group was ready and had the courage to respond properly.

Individually they often say that they are being harassed. The attitude of the parliamentarians is best described by Yusuf Hasyim of Nahdlatul Ulama. He says that the members are governed by four D's — "datang (come), duduk (sit), diam (quiet), duit (money)." This is to be expected because a third of the assembly members are appointed by the president, 28 per cent nominated by the governors and regional representatives, and only 39 per cent elected.

In Indonesia the government has interfered very considerably in religious life. It has also made efforts to secularise national life. Political parties are no

longer allowed to follow religious principles. Now the government is asking all community organisations and religious groups to abandon religion as their principle. The present political development is negative for national stability. Every student of political science understands well that there will be no national stability without the support and sincere participation of the majority of the people.

**How do you describe the role of the armed forces in national political life? Must they dominate every aspect of public life?**

During President Sukarno's rule, the role of the armed forces was limited and it was balanced by the political parties. Their role was extended to all walks of life after President Sukarno delegated total power to General Suharto.

It is important to remember that at that time all parties, in particular the Islamic organisations, supported General Suharto. With emergency powers, General Suharto changed the composition of DPR and MPR membership to the advantage of the Golkar and the armed forces. The role of the armed forces has widened now. It is not due to the dual-function (political-military) of the armed forces but it is the product of the emergency powers that were assumed by General Suharto in 1965.

When I introduced the dual-function the aim was to make the armed forces the guardian of the 1945 constitution. Before the MPR session in 1968, I warned the army leadership that our (the army's) main task is to preserve TNI (soldier) unity with the people. But they wanted to institutionalise the army power with the leadership of General Suharto. Of course, at that time, I was no longer their commander because in 1962 I was shifted by President Sukarno from the military command.

**Does the regime not realise that its measures will make it unpopular among the masses, especially the Muslims who form the overwhelming majority of the country?**

The social, political, economic and cultural condition of the Ummah has been deteriorating since the establishment of the New Order. Mosques have become the object of surveillance by the security forces. Sermons and dawa activities are being strictly controlled. Religious preachers need permission from the authorities as I have myself experienced several times.

The New Order regime is making every effort to separate politics from religion as was done by the Dutch colonial rulers in the past. But 90 per cent of our people have faith in Islam. They believe that Islam is the ideology for the whole of their life. I don't think the regime will succeed; rather it will create an explosive social situation.

**Some people say that containing political Islam is a pre-condition for receiving foreign assistance. They also say that development funds have resulted in the prosperity of a tiny elite. What is your view?**

I do not know if there is any such condition, but politically I can understand that the western world is very sensitive to the spread of Islamic influence, especially after the Iranian revolution. It is a fact that only a small elite enjoy the results of development together with the cukongs (Chinese businessmen), whereas according to the Constitution our aim is justice and prosperity for all.

In this respect, the armed forces should not be blamed in general because only a small group of the military has become rich because of their power and influence. You have always argued that the regime should adhere strictly to the Constitution. But it seems the rulers want to turn this republic into a form of kingdom. What is your comment?

Kopkamtib (the military command for security) has the authority to decide how a citizen or a community group should be given the rights guaranteed in the Constitution. This political practice is the result of two factors: first, the transfer of emergency power by President Sukarno to General Suharto in 1965, and second the agreement of all parties in the MPR and DPR in 1968 that the majority of the MPR members should be appointed (selected) by President Suharto and that candidates for general election should be screened by the government. Thus, the so-called people's representatives who elect the president are chosen by the president himself.

The New Order has made ABRI (the armed forces) and Korpri (the bureaucracy) the backbones of the Golkar party. Also the wives of ABRI and Korpri members are integrated into that structure. The wife of the head of state automatically assumes the leadership, then the hierarchy of wives is established on the pattern of feudalism or monarchy. It is said that what is going on in East Timor lately is leading to a religious war to

cripple the Fretilin (East Timor secessionists) remnants. Is this true? I did not hear of a "religious war" tendency in East Timor. What I hear is that the people of East Timor are influenced by the communist Fretilin with its disciplined and orderly cadres. Militarily, the question of East Timor has dragged on since 1975. According to military science, no military strategy can be successful without political support. Since the East Timor issue has been dragging on there must be something wrong somewhere.

The appointment of General Leonardus Benny Murdani as the armed forces chief/kopkamtib commander is said to have created restlessness among Muslims. Also, the image of Indonesia internationally and particularly among Muslim states is deteriorating. Can the senior army officers do something to redress this?

This appointment is extraordinary. He came to the top of the ABRI leadership directly from the intelligence services and surpassed many of his seniors. This certainly gives rise to many political and psychological problems. But, with this appointment, it becomes clear that he is a trusted person of President Suharto.

I am a senior ABRI, but after breaking with General Suharto more than 15 years ago, a process to isolate me has been going on, and I am no longer in a position to take part in giving input to this republic's leadership. It is a fact that the highest emergency authority (kopkamtib) has

only once been assigned to a Muslim general by Suharto. Otherwise it has remained in the hands of Christian officers.

Details given by the armed forces chief/kopkamtib commander on the Tanjung Priok clashes on September 12 last are widely disputed. Won't the army version anger Muslims?

There are many people who feel that the way in which the whole matter was handled has created negative effects on Muslims. It is being said that the military violated the sanctity of the mosque. I think that only an objective investigation can explain the truth.

Constitutionally, the parliament should control the government on behalf of the people, but as the formation of parliament is still not in accordance with Constitutional principles it cannot be expected that the people's representatives in parliament will take any action in defence of the people.

For instance, there are contradictory reports of the death toll. I know from military hospital sources that on September 12 there were 23 corpses and 37 injured victims of the Tanjung Priok clashes. In the evening, I followed the government's clarification through the TV which said that only 9 people were killed. According to reports circulating in Jakarta the number of people killed and wounded is much higher. Is it really necessary to shoot people? In my time as chief of staff, there were instructions to use tear gas first.

CSO: 4200/477

INDONESIA

**SECRET REPATRIATION OF BORDER CROSSERS REPORTED**

Brisbane THE COURIER MAIL in English 24 Dec 84 p 3

[Text]

PORt MORESBY (AAP).— Secrecy surrounds the repatriation of an estimated 100 Irian Jayan border crossers on board an Indonesian ship.

There was no official announcement of the weekend move and not even the local police and military were told until the last minute.

The people of the West Sepik port of Vanimo started wondering what was afoot when the Indonesian passenger vessel arrived early on Saturday. The border crossers were on board and on their way by mid-morning.

They were all from the small village of Arso, which is just on the Indonesian side of the border. As a group they had indicated some time ago a desire to return home.

But one source in Vanimo said yesterday he understood they had expected to be taken to the border and allowed to walk back to their village. They apparently were surprised about being taken to Vanimo and put on the

ship bound for the Irian Jayan capital of Jayapura.

Officials with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees were concerned that they had not been notified of the repatriation plan or involved in it, despite an in-principle agreement by Indonesia and Papua New Guinea for UNHCR monitoring.

Observers will watch to see how the villagers being repatriated are treated, including whether they are allowed to return freely to their village.

Those among the estimated 11,000 Irian Jayans in PNG camps who wish to return to Indonesian controlled Irian Jaya represent the easiest side of the practical and political equation.

At the other end of the spectrum are the 500 people who have been identified by PNG as not being in a category which should be repatriated.

CSO: 4200/477

INDONESIA

BRIEFS

PRC INVITATION TO BANDUNG CELEBRATION--Foreign Minister Mokhtar Kusummaatmaja is attending a special meeting of ASEAN foreign ministers in Bangkok starting today to discuss the results of the ASEAN senior officials meeting with representatives of the dialogue partners in Jakarta last month. Foreign Office Secretary General Sudharmono, who sent off the foreign minister at the airport, said all Asian and African countries will be invited at the Bandung conference anniversary commemoration. The People's Republic of China will also be invited, and an invitation will be sent through the Indonesian Mission at the United Nations. The United Nations secretary general and the chairman of the United Nations General Assembly will also be invited for their address. [Excerpts] [Jakarta International Service in English 0800 GMT 11 Feb 85 BK]

AMBASSADOR TO WEST SAMOA--The Indonesian ambassador to New Zealand, Fiji, and West Samoa, Mr Satari, presented his credentials to the president of West Samoa, Malietoa Tanumafili II, at the Apia state palace on 30 January. [Excerpts] [Jakarta International Service in English 0800 GMT 1 Feb 85 BK]

CSO: 4200/508

LAOS

SAMAN VI-GNAKET ATTENDS CONFERENCE CLOSING

BK051314 Vientiane KPL in English 0914 GMT 5 Feb 85

[Text] Vientiane, 5 Feb (OANA-KPL)--The propaganda and training board yesterday successfully closed its annual conference.

The 8-day conference under the chairmanship of Somlat Chanthamat, member of the LPRP CC, head of the LPRP CC Propaganda and Training Board Committee.  
[sentence as received]

The participants at the meeting reviewed their past year achievements and obstacles in carrying out their work. They also discussed and adopted future propaganda plan of actions.

In his speech at the closing ceremony, Saman Vi-gnaket, secretary of the LPRP CC, [and] head of the Control Committee of the party CC, highly evaluated the achievements of the conference, describing them as factors to strengthen the party propaganda and training work aiming at forming the new generation of man in the society.

Also present on the occasion were Chanmi Douangbouthdi, member of the LPRP CC, director of the higher party school and other senior officials.

CSO: 4200/509

LAOS

INSTRUCTION ISSUED ON COMMENDATION OF WORKERS

BK051240 Vientiane KPL in English 0905 GMT 5 Feb 85

[Text] Vientiane, 5 Feb (KPL)--In order to correctly and effectively materialize the work on the commendation of the outstanding workers and officials for their national safeguarding and building roles in the past 10 years (1975-85), the Secretariat of the party Central Committee recently issued an instruction spelling out detailed measures and procedures regarding the practical steps of the work.

The instruction published today by the daily PASASON gave concrete instruction on how the selection of best-achieved work-teams and individuals in the community is to be made. It also pointed out the objective, guidelines, forms and organizational practice of the commendation work. Standardized criteria with regard to the selection of outstanding workers and officials, including foreign specialists working in Laos to be commended, were stipulated in details. Different level orders of distinction to be awarded range from the victorious Itsala [freedom] order to provincial congratulatory certificates.

The selection work should be finished by June 1985 at the grassroot, and by October 1985 at the ministerial level.

CSO: 4200/509

LAOS

BRIEFS

SAMAN VI-GNAKET CHAIRS YOUTH UNION MEETING--Vientiane, 4 Feb (OANA-KPL)--A conference was held at the Lao People's Revolutionary Youth Union headquarters on 31 January, to work out the union preparation plan for 12th Festival of World Youths and Students to be held in Moscow. The conference was chaired by Saman Vi-gnaket, secretariat member of the party CC, head of the Organizational Committee of the party CC, chairman of the Lao State Commission for the Preparation of the Festival. It was also attended by Singkao Sikhotchounlamani, president of the Lao Committee for Peace, Solidarity and Friendship with Other Peoples. The conference in this regard set up an action plan to be carried out in Laos aiming at informing the Lao public especially the youths on the paramount significance of fighting the imperialists for peace and friendship. To date, there are 150 countries which have decided to participate in the festival. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0917 GMT 4 Feb 85 BK]

TRADE UNION TO INDIA--Vientiane, 2 Feb (OANA-KPL)--A Lao Federation of Trade Union delegation led by its vice-chairman Somboun Vongnobountham on 30 January, left here for India to attend the Conference of Asia and Oceania Trade Unions on development and a new international economic order. The conference to be held in New Delhi will be convened on 4-6 February. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0904 GMT 2 Feb 85 BK]

FRENCH BOOKS ON ARCHITECTURE--Vientiane, 2 Feb (OANA-KPL)--The French Embassy here yesterday handed over a number of books to the architectural school. Jean Noel de Bouillane de Lacoste, the ambassador of France to Laos, presented the architectural books of Seun Phetsanghan, deputy-minister of construction. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0907 GMT 2 Feb 85 BK]

OUTSTANDING WORKERS SELECTION--Vientiane, 1 Feb (KPL)--A conference was held here on 30 January to make public the detailed guideline of the Secretariat of the LPRP CC regarding the commendation of the outstanding workers and officials in their national safeguarding and building participation in the past 10 years. In attendance were Vilaivan Phomkhe, deputy-head of the Organizational Committee of the party CC and member of the Commission for the Celebrations of the Two Historical Days in Laos, and Bouahan Houangmali, head of the State Institution for Medal and Socialist Emulation. Addressing the gathering, B. Houangmali highlighted the significance and aim of the conference. He also gave some practical instruction on the selection of outstanding workers and officials to be carried out nationwide. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0918 GMT 1 Feb 85 BK]

MALAYSIA

KUALA LUMPUR ON EFFORTS TO LURE INVESTORS

BK291600 Kuala Lumpur International Service in English 0800 GMT 29 Jan 85

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Developing nations have always competed fiercely, although often silently, to lure foreign capital into investing in their countries. The bait has been in most cases similar, the differences being only one of degree: tax holidays, repatriation of profits, quick processing of licenses and permits, perks of various kinds, cheap labor, and so on. The developing nations' governments, however, also realized that all these perks by themselves are insufficient and so have been prepared to take various measures to guarantee political stability, provide protective tariffs for the goods produced by the investor, and bring in legislation in favor of the investor, whether it be in the field of labor laws, tax laws, or what have you.

At the same time, however, many newly independent governments, especially those who practice a democratic system of government, have felt constrained by the desires and expectations of their peoples and their fears of exchanging one form of colonialism for another; and this has been particularly true of some of the bigger nations in the region who have been fairly well endowed with potential riches in the form of natural resources and manpower. Two good examples are China and India. Both these countries have good natural resources, a large population which at one and the same time provide a potential large enough market not to be too concerned over exports and a source of unlimited cheap labor. It is the small countries with limited manpower resources and a small domestic market who have up to now been more open to foreign investments.

The situation is changing, however. Both China and India appeared to have realized that a closed-door policy or to be more exact, a slightly open-door policy has not proved very helpful in developing their industries, particularly where the transfer of technology is concerned.

Both these countries have now decided to be more liberal and open their doors wider to foreign investment. That alone should prove very attractive to foreign investors. The vastness of the domestic market for one; the cheap but comparatively more skilled labor than that found in other developing countries, when added to the normal incentives, should prove to be bait hard to resist.

Other smaller developing nations have had to take a hard look at their own efforts to lure capital. Malaysia is doing so, as Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Musa Hitam said yesterday. He told reporters that we would be asking potential investors what they expected. The Investment Incentive Act of 1968 could be amended so as to bring it more in line with the realities of the day. The feedback, from investors, the amendment of the Incentive Act and regulations, and other necessary action should make the country more attractive.

CSO: 4200/491

MALAYSIA

COMMENTARY CALLS UN CHIEF'S VISIT 'MORALE BOOSTER'

BK311313 Kuala Lumpur International Service in English 0800 GMT 31 Jan 85

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The secretary general of the United Nations, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, has arrived in Malaysia [as heard] for a 3-day official visit. Malaysia not only extends him a warm welcome in accordance with local tradition but also takes this opportunity to reaffirm its support for the United Nations. In the words of the Malaysian deputy foreign minister, Mr Abdul Kadir Sheikh Fadzir, it is, after all, the responsibility of all member-nations to make sure that the UN can function effectively.

Mr de Cuellar has been visiting the troubled and tense Thai-Kampuchean border region. Events in that area have given rise to much concern in Malaysia and the other ASEAN countries. For several months now ASEAN diplomatic efforts have been centered on the formulation of a political solution to the Kampuchean question. The presence of Vietnamese troops in a large portion of Kampuchea is the source of attention in Southeast Asia today. Further, Vietnam has recently been striving to capture the rest of Kampuchea, which is controlled by the tripartite coalition government. This action has provoked a predictable reaction from China which is harrassing Vietnam on the Sino-Vietnamese border. The danger in this situation is that the conflict may not be kept within bounds but may spread and engulf other countries in the region. Vietnam must bear the responsibility for any such development. The ASEAN states have stepped up zoned military exercises with other friendly powers such as the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. These are purely defensive measures and they are in harmony with national sovereignty and the right of nations to secure their territorial integrity. The ASEAN states are not interested in military build-up nor in war for its own sake. They would rather accord priority to social and economic development, but their line of action has been due solely to Vietnam's belligerent posture.

The UN secretary general, while in Bangkok over the weekend, called for dialogue and negotiation to end further suffering and destruction in Kampuchea. After Bangkok, his next stops were Vientiane and Hanoi. The secretary general's discussions with leaders of Vietnam will be of particular interest to the ASEAN countries and their governments. While it is too

early to say to what extent Mr de Cuellar's influence will bring about a lessening of tension, there is no doubt whatsoever that the secretary general's visit is a morale booster for Malaysia and ASEAN. The UN Charter authorizes the secretary general to monitor events that pose a threat to international peace and security, but by the same token he can use his good offices to diffuse any situation that is fraught with grave consequences. Mr de Cuellar will also be able to see for himself the success that Malaysia has achieved in improving living condition. Above all, Malaysia wholeheartedly supports the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

CSO: 4200/491

MALAYSIA

EDITORIAL VIEWS AFTERMATH OF MCA 'CRISIS'

BK020830 Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 31 Jan 85 p 10

[Editorial: "Together Again"]

[Text] Although it was a long time coming, there must be a huge sigh of relief among those concerned by the damage that was being caused by the MCA [Malaysian Chinese Association] crisis which was resolved yesterday with the signing of a compromise agreement. As the prime minister observed, there are no winners and no losers. If anything, it is the larger good that has triumphed. And it was this larger good that has been buffeted in the last ten months.

There is no doubt that the crisis had a dampening effect on business confidence, readily registered in the stock market. As Encik Ghafar Baba, who is to be congratulated for successfully getting the warring parties to come to an agreement, also noted even the confidence of foreign investors may have been adversely affected by the strife in the MCA. All this was not good news for Malaysia. Perhaps now all parties can get down to the serious business of bringing development to the country.

An MCA in disarray and pretty well paralysed was also not good for Barisan Nasional [National Front]. It reflected badly on the ruling coalition. A coalition emphasising a positive and cooperative approach to nation-building cannot sustain its credibility if a party within it is so obviously out of line. The MCA squabble weakened Barisan's effectiveness for an important flank was not adequately covered by an important coalition partner. The conflict, also, could have undermined consensus politics because in their struggle for support one or both warring factions might have been pushed into making rash promises which they could not have kept--raising expectations only to be dashed, a dangerous game in our multi-racial society.

An enfeebled MCA was, furthermore, bad because the main representative in this country of the Chinese community was no longer playing its proper role, which is to ensure overwhelming Chinese support for national policies by securing legitimate community interests. By not fulfilling this role that support could be seriously diluted. Worse, there could even be flirtations with unrealistic demands through chauvinist representation which could harm long-term community interests. The MCA could have found a different, even

politically alien, constituency by the time the factions were through with fighting each other.

Happily, this did not quite happen. The MCA has been saved from serious division, and Chinese political representation from dangerous fragmentation. The crisis has been resolved. Big as the crisis was, its resolution is equally big. The MCA can now return to its role in Barison and for the country. The party has made a significant contribution to the stability and development of this country. There is so much that is still to be done. If the lessons of the crippling effects of internecine conflict have been learnt, the party may even emerge stronger than before. For this to happen, there has to be a lot of that sincerity the prime minister and Barisan leader referred to when expressing his happiness that the crisis had at last been resolved.

CSO: 4200/491

MALAYSIA

BRIEFS

IMPROVED ASEAN-AUSTRALIAN TRADE URGED--Malaysia has called for efforts to strike a balance in trade between ASEAN and Australia. Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Kadir Sheikh Fadzir said this could be achieved by allowing greater access to manufactured goods and bringing about an equitable trade in services. Mr Kadir was opening the 9th ASEAN-Australia forum in Petaling Jaya today. He said that it was logical to expect the ASEAN countries, being basically agricultural nations, and Australia to develop strong cooperation in agriculture. Mr Kadir said that dialogue between the sides in the new decade should center on trade, both bilateral and international. He felt that ASEAN and Australia should give trade and commercial relations top priority from the dialogue during that period. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur Domestic Service in English 1130 GMT 1 Feb 85 BK]

POLITICAL SOLUTION FOR CAMBODIA--Malaysia will have contacts with Vietnam at an appropriate time to pursue negotiations aimed at resolving the Kampuchean issue. The deputy minister of foreign affairs, Mr Abdul Kadir Sheikh Fadzir, says Malaysia's position on the Kampuchean crisis is that the political solution must be found to resolve the protracted conflict. He was speaking to reporters after seeing off his East German counterpart, Mr Gerd Koenig, at the Kuala Lumpur International Airport. Mr Kadir says he had explained to Mr Koenig the necessity to fully implement the resolution of the international conference on Kampuchea. [Excerpt] [Kuala Lumpur International Service in English 0600 GMT 2 Feb 85 BK]

BELGIAN CROWN PRINCE ARRIVES--The crown prince of Belgium, Prince Albert, has arrived in Kuala Lumpur for a 5-day official visit to Malaysia. The prince and his entourage were met on arrival by the deputy minister of trade and industry, Datuk Oo Gin Sun, and the Belgian ambassador to Malaysia, Mr (Pieter Berius). Prince Albert is leading a 19-member trade and economic delegation to look into the possibility of increasing trade with Malaysia. During his stay, the prince is scheduled to have an audience with His Majesty the Yang Di-Pertuan Agong [paramount ruler]. He will hold discussions with the prime minister, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir Mohamed, and the trade and industry minister, Tengku Razaleigh Hamxzah. Before signing a shipping agreement between Belgium and Malaysia on Tuesday, Prince Albert is also scheduled to declare open a seminar on new development in building and construction technology in Belgium. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur Domestic Service in English 1130 GMT 10 Feb 85 BK]

REPORTS OF ELECTIONS DISMISSAL--The minister in the prime minister's department, Datuk Khalil Yaakob, has dismissed [words indistinct] that the general elections will be held soon because the government is carrying out development projects in various parts of the country. He points out the government is merely discharging its obligations to the people to provide them with the necessary amenities. The general election is still far away and expected to be held only in 1987. Datuk Khalik explains that the projects are not being carried out to win the people's support during the elections but rather because the government wants to raise the people's standard of living. He was opening the general meeting of the Lubuk Paku UMNO [United Malays National Organizations] branch near Maran. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur Domestic Service in English 1330 GMT 10 Feb 85 BK]

CSO: 4200/507

PHILIPPINES

COLUMNIST ON U.S. 'GUNBOAT,' 'DOLLAR' DIPLOMACY

HK050600 Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 24 Jan 85 pp 5, 6

[ "Of Laws and Men" column by attorney Procopio S. Beltran, Jr: "The Two Kinds of U.S. Diplomacy" ]

[Text] The United States, as an imperialist nation, has adopted two kinds of diplomacy for underdeveloped nations including the Philippines. The first kind of diplomacy is called "gunboat diplomacy." The second is the so-called "dollar diplomacy."

As succinctly pointed out by the late Maurice Bishop of Grenada, gunboat diplomacy refers to the mode of taking over the control of an underdeveloped country by sheer force. Later on, mercenaries are used in place of soldiers and marines.

On the other hand, dollar diplomacy is a form of benevolent despotism intended to force underdeveloped nations to depend entirely on the United States for loans and investments. It aims to induce them to accept "constitutional government" and the political practices of the English-speaking countries.

Gunboat diplomacy did not succeed in underdeveloped countries whose leaders and masses have established local militias who were indoctrinated with intense love of country. These militias were also rigidly trained to fight external aggression. Some examples are the victorious Vietnamese people who defeated the colossal U.S. Army, the hardpressed Nicaraguans who overthrew the Somoza dictatorship backed by the U.S. Government, the 200,000 People's Liberation Army of China who routed the two million-strong Kuomintang army supplied with modern armaments by the U.S. Government.

U.S. gunboat diplomacy succeeded, however, in controlling the governments of underdeveloped nations where the people's militias were weak or have not been established.

An example is the Dominican Republic in Latin America where the United States landed troops in 1965, at first under the guise of protecting American citizens living in Santo Domingo, capital of the Dominican Republic. The government was then handed over to a succession of dictators who rule until today.

A recent example of successful U.S. gunboat diplomacy is Grenada. The people's militia established by President Maurice Bishop were too few and too weak because Bishop did not have enough trust in his people to arm them, which became a fatal mistake for him. Eight thousand U.S. Marines landed in Grenada in 1983 to snatch the control of the country from Bishop and hand it to officials "friendly to the U.S."

In the Philippines, gunboat diplomacy was adopted by the U.S. Government when it landed thousands of troops in 1899 after hoodwinking General Emilio Aguinaldo. Realizing that many Filipino leaders could be bought with 30 pieces of silver, the U.S. Government changed its tactic to dollar diplomacy.

At present, with the growing awareness of patriotic Filipinos of the evils of U.S. imperialism, it will not be a surprise if the U.S. Government reverts to gunboat diplomacy either through direct intervention or through a local mercenary army. The new leaders should be aware of these two kinds of diplomacy in order to thwart the evil intentions of U.S. imperialism wherever it may be found in our country.

CSO: 4200/495

PHILIPPINES

MAYOR HAILS POSITIVE INFLUENCE OF U.S. BASE

HK050818 Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 26 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Elmer G. Cato]

[Text] Angeles City--The significant contribution of the presence of American military facilities to the economic stability of the city has elicited favorable response from Angeles authorities.

In an interview with MALAYA, City Mayor Francisco Nepomuceno reaffirmed his stand on the retention of American military installations in the country as he cited their importance in his city's economic development, lauding in particular the Economic Support Fund program of the U.S. Government. Under the ESF, areas directly affected by the presence of American bases, particularly those in region III, are "fitted with developmental projects as part of the bases rental payment," he said.

Angeles City plays host to Clark Air Base, the largest American military installation outside of the continental United States and which houses the U.S. 13th Air Force.

According to Nepomuceno, a number of schoolhouses and a slaughterhouse have already been constructed under the ESF program. He also hailed civic-action projects of American personnel stationed in the area. During a typhoid fever epidemic here a couple of months ago, American personnel conducted aerial spraying to disinfect affected areas, he added.

Nepomuceno also noted the growing unpopularity of the bases removal issue here saying that residents would be at the losing end since most business establishments in the city rely directly on the base.

Reacting to claims raised by several sectors that the base is being used as a storage depot for nuclear weapons, Nepomuceno said that such would invariably lead to a balance of power in the Pacific region.

He added that with the Soviet Union's acquisition of a military base in nearby Vietnam, the presence of American forces in the country would "forestall any form of communist aggression."

CSO: 4200/495

PHILIPPINES

COLUMNIST BEMOANS LACK OF INDEPENDENCE

HK051343 Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 30 Jan 85 p 3

[*"This Is My Own"* column by Joaquin R. Roces: "Most Liberated People on Earth"]

[Text] We Filipinos have been liberated so many times that we wonder why we are not the freest people in the world today. In 1896, that was the first time we were liberated, the first Philippine Republic was inaugurated on 12 June with Emilio Aguinaldo as its head. This was our first taste of liberation.

It took an honest-to-goodness revolution to win our freedom, but then somehow, much as we resisted the American Expeditionary Forces, with all the heroism we could master, we ultimately found ourselves officially under American occupation.

From then on, for 50 years, would you believe that we Filipinos yearly celebrated that day of frustration and actually paraded in the streets yearly to celebrate American Occupation Day. We who had already been liberated, and who had once joyously celebrated our day of freedom were now celebrating the day it was aborted.

And then, in 1942, the Japanese occupied the Philippines by defeating the American forces in Bataan and Corregidor and occupied the Philippines until 4 February 1945.

February 4, or what they now call Liberation Day, is what we are celebrating on Monday. This was the day when the American forces came back in strength and occupied Manila. This was our second liberation, although what it was in reality was the re-occupation of the country by the Americans.

It is to the credit of the American Congress, however, that true to the promises made by then President Franklin Roosevelt of the United States, we were granted our independence on 4 July 1946. So this became our third Liberation Day. We had during all this time liberated ourselves from the Spaniards, then were liberated from the Japanese, then again liberated by the Americans, and on 21 September 1972, according to President Marcos, liberated from the oligarchs and the old politicians.

No country so enslaved politically and economically today as we are, has ever been liberated as many times in this our own part of the globe.

The Dutch Government no longer meddles with the government of Indonesia. Not even a hint of the Dutch Government ever meddling in Indonesian affairs is ever heard.

The British Crown does not meddle with the government of Singapore. Singapore is only a city state, but it is a state in every sense of the world. The British Crown does not meddle with the government of Malaysia. Nor is it ever invited to meddle in purely Malaysian affairs.

But our country, the Philippines, the first colony to be given its independence after the war in Southeast Asia, is, in the opinion of many political scientists, the last remaining colony in this part of the world. But this is not entirely the fault of the Americans, or the United States. There is something wrong with our own selves.

This Monday, we are celebrating another Liberation Day. Now celebrating without thinking has been our regular norm in the past. So why do we not all think first before celebrating? And the first thought naturally should be: Have we anything to celebrate?

For the Filipino people, the great majority of whom are not free to celebrate Liberation Day on Monday would be like a husband celebrating his wedding anniversary when he is already separated from his wife.

CSO: 4200/495

PHILIPPINES

EFFECT OF MONEY SUPPLY CONTROL

HK050610 Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 24 Jan 85 pp 3, 6

[Article by Maria Rosa Ocampo]

[Text] The economic policy of limiting money supply at way below the level of money demand will only prop higher the price of money and interest rates, sources in the banking sector said.

The government has set a 10-15 percent limit on money supply which consists of money in circulation and new credits, while targetting a 25 percent inflation rate. Last year when money supply was under tight control and inflation rates soaring at over 60 percent, interest rates have gone up to over 30 percent on the average.

But bankers fear that ongoing limitations on new money and credit to only 15 percent could further jack up interest rates to 40 percent, thus creating a situation where prices of money would go up, instead of slowing down, as what the monetary authorities predict.

Lately, government efforts of controlling money supply has temporarily led to the slight appreciation of the peso against the dollar because there "is simply not enough peso in circulation to buy dollars," the bankers observed.

An effective method of siphoning off money in circulation is the issuance of high interest-bearing government securities, although bankers believe that there could be a "backlash" to the Central Bank [CB] once these short-term government bonds become due.

Some maturing bonds would have to be rolled over as the CB would be unable to release big amounts of money over a short period to pay off these claims. This may cause another blow to the peso-dollar parity, the bankers said.

The same banking sources said that the peso appreciation against the dollar is only "artificial" since the dollar is strengthening against all major foreign currencies in the world.

Bankers have dismissed the "official explanation" for the stability of the peso-dollar guiding rate to the adequate supply of dollar at hand. Bankers said the "unofficial explanation" is that importers who rely on dollars for their operations are inactive. Banks are still limited by Central Bank rules to keep "very low dollar position," they added.

Importers have been constrained by huge operating costs brought about by soaring inflation rates, high interest rates and high taxes, leading to a reduced demand for foreign exchange which in turn led to the excess dollar holdings of the banks.

There is no active foreign exchange market in the Philippines even if most banks have excess dollars. Banks instead sell to the CB, thus effecting a higher value for the peso vis-a-vis the dollar--at least temporarily.

CSO: 4200/495

PHILIPPINES

ARTICLE ON 'FINANCIALLY DISLOCATED' GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS

HK051234 Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 26 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Maria Rosa Ocampo]

[Text] At least six of the 13 non-financial government corporations on the watchlist of major creditor International Monetary Fund (IMF) are "financially dislocated" by millions worth of uncollectible accounts, a high-ranking government official disclosed.

These are the "infrastructure-based" National Electrification Administration (NEA), the National Irrigation Administration (NIA), the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage Authority (MWSA), the Philippine National Railways (PNR), the National Power Corp (Napocor), and the Export Processing Zone Authority (EPZA).

NIA has over P600 million collectibles due from farmers' irrigation service fees, while the MWSA has yet to collect from its water services and pay for busted pipelines and other operating costs, the government official said.

"This, despite a 45 percent increase in earnings, for the water agency," he added.

EPZA, Napocor, NEA and PNR have negative cash flows due to poor internal revenue generation compounded by heavy debt servicing, he added.

The six government firms are included in the list of 13 government corporations being closely watched by the IMF via a Cabinet monitoring committee headed by Prime Minister Cesar A. Virata. Being closely monitored are the firms' cash outlays.

Other firms in the watchlist are the Philippine National Oil Co (PNOC), Philippine Ports Authority (PPA), Metro Manila Transit Corp (MMTC), Light Rail Transit Authority (LRTA), Local Water-works and Utilities Administration (LWUA), National Housing Authority (NHA), and National Development Co (NDC).

The source said "uncollectible" accounts have further strained the government's cash flow position.

"This can be gleaned from the fact that the six corporations involved account for roughly 40 percent of total government corporate investment," he said.

He traced this problem to unbridled borrowings in the past, lack of improvement in revenue base which is in part due to graft and corruption, and unscrupulous spending. He said that this problem is also attributed to some sectors of the population that default in paying for public services given to them.

Corporations suffering from uncollectible accounts will have further difficulties in making both ends of their finances meet because in spite of their current cash problems, the national government will not increase their budgetary allotment, the source said.

CSO: 4200/495

PHILIPPINES

OIL PAYMENTS PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY TO UNLOAD DOLLARS

HK051320 Manila BUSINESS DAY in English 5 Feb 85 p 2

[Text] The country's oil payments which will fall due soon--estimated by some bankers to reach around \$300 million--may open another opportunity for banks to release their costly dollar holdings.

The Central Bank--supposedly the buyer-of-last-resort for dollars that have become burdens to some banks--has not been buying much lately, purchasing only a total of \$7 million from banks yesterday and last Friday after being absent from the market Tuesday to Thursday last week. Some banks are thus left with a lot of dollars they want to sell but cannot because of the low dollar demand. Industry which imports most of its raw materials does not need too much dollars since the slowdown in imports.

A portion of that huge dollar payment for oil has to come from the banking system, since the Central Bank a few months ago told the oil companies to cover their own dollar needs when it stopped giving so-called forward covers to private companies. A forward cover, in effect, is a CB promise to give importers a certain amount of dollars for their future payments. Sources in banking said that only part of the oil payments due soon will be covered by dollars from the CB, although they could not give an exact amount.

In fact, they said, oil firms have started canvassing the banking sector for dollar prices. While some bankers claimed that they have already committed dollars to the oil firms and have similarly acquired the dollars to meet these commitments, others said they are still talking with the firms. Bankers believe that if the oil firms buy their dollars from banks, the banking sector's problem of excessive dollar holdings can be solved, at least temporarily.

There are basically two kinds of dollar positions for banks during the current foreign exchange glut. Some bankers claimed that the pressure on them to sell dollars immediately is no longer as strong as last month's when the demand for dollars was near zero. They said that the problem stemmed from banks having to keep the dollars from export receipts while

there were no import payments to be made. Some importing firms recently have begun securing their future dollar needs, and together with the dollar demand for oil payments, this has helped certain banks "to balance" their dollar holdings.

Other banks, however, still suffer from having too much dollars. A large commercial bank which sold \$3 million to the CB during the past 2 weeks claimed that it still has about \$22 million it wants to dispose. While the CB has resumed its dollar purchases, this group of banks still worry about the carrying costs of dollars.

The foreign exchange glut gave banks two basic problems: they earn less from dollar holdings compared to what they can get if they could invest the peso proceeds of dollar sales in government IOUs for instance; and they suffer losses due to a strong peso because they buy from exports at a certain rate and sell later at a lower rate.

To avoid such losses, banks bought dollars from exporters at much lower rates than the prevailing peso-dollar reference rate.

CSO: 4200/495

PHILIPPINES

NEW METRO STRIKE FORCE ENCOURAGES MILITARY COUP FEARS

HK050941 Manila VERITAS in English 3 Feb 85 p 15

[Article by Chit L. Macapagal]

[Text] Wild rumors grow from grains of truth. An intelligence report secured by VERITAS appears to support this statement, giving some basis for all that talk about a military takeover.

The rumors, flying thick and fast since late last year when armored vehicles were seen on Roxas Blvd, have been constantly denied by the government and dismissed as absurd by the military. But the report, based on the findings of a retired military officer, revealed the following staggering facts.

The Philippine Army (PA) has created a strike force of a combined infantry and armored unit called the Metro Strike Force.

Its infantry component, the report says, has been trained in special weapons and tactics adaptable to urban warfare. Its armored component is formidable with 16 Scorpion tanks, several armored personnel carriers and some jeeps with mounted guns.

The unit, the report continues, is supposedly not in any authorized table of organization of the PA.

There is also a full PA Division, the 2nd Infantry Division, stationed in Tanay, Rizal. It can already serve as the secondary security force for Metro Manila to augment the forces of the PC [Philippine Constabulary] Metrocom and the Military Police Force aside from the forces at the general headquarters of the different services, according to the report.

The same report points out that Fort Bonifacio is armed to the teeth with some many battalions. There are five fully trained Scout Ranger companies, three of which have not been in the field for the past several months. There is one so-called Mountain Battalion, also Ranger-trained and which, the report says, "has not seen any mountains for quite some time already."

Over and above the regular number of battalions in Fort Bonifacio, the report goes on, there are four regular PA battalions in or around the fort "in a state of inactivity." The Military Security Command, aside from a full complement of intelligence personnel, has an entire battalion being used to guard a few maximum security detainees.

There is also one oversized battalion that does nothing but conduct escort and honor duties. The report adds, however, that this can "double up for security purposes."

The retired military officer says he is concerned about these "excess troops" and that they should be sent out to the field to help the soldiers dying in combat areas. Otherwise, he suggests, they should be discharged so that funds allocated for these troops may be used to upgrade those "doing the work for them."

There is also one company of the Special Action Force in Camp Bagong Diwa and another is about to join it, the report continues. These, being elite counter-insurgency units, are supposed to be in the field.

The different services, according to the report, have the capability to generate new battalions easily. The Army Support Command can generate another battalion of regular soldiers. The Philippine Constabulary can constitute two in Camp Crame; the Military Police Brigade stationed in Camp Aguinaldo can come up with another battalion or two, the report alleges.

The Philippine Air Force, says the report, has two full-strength battalions aside from the Avsecom [Aviation Security Command] and its rifle battalion. These are quartered in barracks supposedly for civil disturbance control purposes.

Informed sources within the military also say that the PAF is the only air force around the world with an infantry battalion. A bit of history would show, however, that there is already a precedent for this model: Hitler's Luftwaffe.

Lastly, the report says there are scores of armored personnel carriers and V-150 armored cars, in Metro Manila.

In an ocular inspection of Fort Bonifacio, VERITAS saw eight personnel armored vehicles and six armored cars in one unit's headquarters alone. Sources within the military say there are also six Scorpion tanks in the vicinity of the Libingan ng mga Bayani.

Informed sources say an investigating committee was formed to confirm the retired officer's allegations. The head of the committee, sources say, asked army top brass about the presence of such military capability. This was flatly denied. The committee head therefore dismissed the retired officer's allegations as wild rumors.

But a military intelligence group unofficially looked into the matter, the same sources say. It not only confirmed all the allegations but also found there hasn't been any pullout of tanks nor troops since the informant presented his report late last year. The rumors apparently were not wild after all.

PHILIPPINES

MILITARY DATA REVEALS GROWING INSURGENCY IN MINDANAO

HK041345 Manila BUSINESS DAY in English 4 Feb 85 p 10

[Text] Davao City--Insurgency in Region XI escalated dramatically last year, statistics show.

Military data made available to BUSINESS DAY by Brig Gen Jaime C. Echeverria, commanding general of Regional Unified Command XI showed that at least 876 incidents were recorded--for an average of two to three per day--initiated by the insurgents. These include raids, liquidations, disarming of military and paramilitary units, ambuscades, attacks/harassments, hold-up-robbery, grenade throwing, kidnapping and burning. In contrast 478 such incidents were reported in 1983, or an increase by 83 percent.

More than half of the incidents recorded last year were in the form of liquidations and encounters with military and paramilitary forces. The 332 liquidations and 258 encounters represent increase of 54 percent and 42 percent, respectively, compared to the 216 liquidations and 181 encounters recorded in 1983. Fifteen raids were initiated by the insurgents last year, compared to only four the previous year.

The number of ambuscades by insurgents also increased from 12 in 1983 to 74 last year. Actually, only the incidence of kidnapping dropped last year, from 11 in 1983 to only one. There were 69 recorded attacks and harassments; 48 disarming; 39 hold-up/robbery; 11 grenade throwing; 1 kidnapping; and 29 burning.

Meanwhile, government forces initiated 68 raids last year, twice the number in the previous year, to quell the insurgency upsurge. Data on the arrests made, however, are not available.

The escalation in the insurgency movement in the region is also reflected in the death toll. At least 799 persons--members of the armed forces, police, integrated civilian home defense forces, government and barangay officials as well as civilians--were killed last year by the insurgents, the report said.

Last year, 503 members of the military, police and ICHDF [integrated civilian home defense force] died in action--179 percent over the 180 recorded in 1983. This also represents 63 percent of the total death toll of 799. In 1983, military and paramilitary men accounted for 42 percent of the total death toll.

The reports also noted that 278 civilians were caught in the crossfire last year, compared to 233 in 1983. While there was a slight increase last year, it may be noted that civilians accounted for 35 percent of the total death toll--significantly lower than the 55 percent share in 1983.

Eighteen government and barangay officials were killed last year, compared to 14 the previous year.

The number of wounded also increased from 146 in 1983 to 218 in 1984. The same trend is observed--the share of civilians to the total number decreased--from 39 percent in 1983 to 28 percent last year. Last year 158 members of the military, police and ICHDF were wounded in action, while 88 were wounded in 1983.

CSO: 4200/495

PHILIPPINES

BRIEFS

ENVOY DENIES ASEAN PULLOUT--The Philippines has no plans to leave ASEAN, the Philippines Embassy in Kuala Lumpur clarified Monday. Charge d'affaires (Rudolf Dumaphias) said the question of his country withdrawing from the six-member grouping did not arise at all in view of the close relationship it now enjoys with the other ASEAN countries. (Sumaphias) says there should be no doubt about his country continuing to be a member of ASEAN giving the benefit it obtains from the relationship with other member countries. He was commenting on a report which quoted the Philippines' DAILY EXPRESS as saying that the Philippines may withdraw from several international bodies, including ASEAN, due to the pressing economic difficulties the country is facing. [Text] [BK051128 Jakarta International Service in English 0800 GMT 5 Feb 85]

AVSECOM AGAINST FIREARMS SMUGGLING--The Aviation and Security Command [Avsecom] has joined the efforts of customs authorities in the campaign against the smuggling of firearms into the country. This was announced today by MIA [Manila International Airport] customs district collector Bayani Bautista. Correspondent Cel Baiza has added details: [Begin recording] Bautista said Avsecom and customs agents are scanning arriving baggage to detect the presence of military hardware. According to Bautista, they are utilizing sophisticated metal-scanners in the no-nonsense drive. The campaign against firearms was precipitated by an alert order earlier issued by Customs Commissioner Ramon Farolan following intelligence reports that a gun-running syndicate is out to smuggle in firearms through returning Filipinos, especially those coming from the United States. [End recording] [Text] [Quezon City Maharlika Broadcasting System in English 1100 GMT 4 Feb 85]

MRS MARCOS MEETS MINDANAO OFFICIALS--The first lady is meeting in Malacanang with regional officials and assemblymen from Mindanao. Today's meeting is the second time this week the first lady has met with local officials from other regions to discuss problems in their areas. Last Monday she met with civilian and military officials from the provinces of Quezon and Aurora and received their petitions for the release of infrastructure funds. [Text] [Quezon City Maharlika Broadcasting System in English 0400 GMT 6 Feb 85 HK]

LÚZON NPA ACTIVITIES--Five armed men, believed to be NPA members, shot and killed a Valenzuela policeman inside this car in Malinta, Valenzuela, last night. Killed was police Lieutenant Edgardo (Baguhin), assistant chief of the Valenzuela police patrol division. He sustained four gunshot wounds in the head. Investigators have theorized that the victim might have been killed by the NPA. (Baguhin)'s name reportedly appeared on the NPA's death list. Authorities in Pampanga have captured a suspected NPA member long wanted for various crimes. The details from correspondent Becky Cabral: [Begin recording] Pablo Santos, alias Commander Danding, [word indistinct] officer of the New People's Army operating in northwestern Pampanga, was captured by the military at San Ramon, Floridablanca, last 31 January. [Words indistinct] of certain cases of murder and subversion, Commander Danding was [words indistinct]. Pampanga Governor Estelito Mendoza, who is concurrently justice minister and solicitor general, commended the military for the capture of Commander Danding. [end recording] [Text] [Quezon City Haharlika Broadcasting System in English 0400 GMT 6 Feb 85 HK]

PRESIDENTIAL ACCESS CENTER--A newly created presidential action center starts operations next week. The center was formed in response to requests for more access to the president and the first lady on problems of local government. The center will be located at the Maharlika Hall in Malacanang. It will have regional desks to attend to specific areas. The first lady, in a meeting with Mindanao officials, said the center will help establish a more effective co-ordination between local officials and the national government. [Text] [Quezon City Maharlika Broadcasting System in English 0400 GMT 7 Feb 85 HK]

CSO: 4200/503

SINGAPORE

Straits Times on ASEAN Economic Cooperation

BK091159 Singapore THE STRAITS TIMES in English 9 Feb 85 p 22

[Editorial: "Benefits Are Also Intangible"]

[Text] ASEAN ministers are reviewing the progress made on economic cooperation among member-states. That the economic ministers are meeting for the 17th time is an indication of the distance the regional grouping has covered since the 1967 Bangkok declaration. In political terms, ASEAN has since emerged as a force to be reckoned with in international forums. However, the same cannot be said of its economic prowess. The Malaysian Prime Minister, Datuk Sir Dr Mahathir Mohamed, did not mince his words when he said that intra-regional economic cooperation was less than satisfactory. Apart from a long, and growing, list of items under the Preferential Trading Arrangement, and a number of economic committees and industrial projects, the group has little to show for the countless meetings held to discuss ways to improve existing economic relations.

The issue of commitment to regional cooperation is not in question here. ASEAN members have repeatedly demonstrated their willingness to work together. What then should be done to foster closer economic ties? Finding more areas for cooperation may not be the answer, for it would have the undesirable effect of creating a massive regional structure of unwieldy proportions. Perhaps the question to be asked is whether it is feasible to forge economic cooperation more speedily. Although the six ASEAN states have a common interest in securing peace and prosperity, the fact that their independent and not always complementary economies are at different stages of development. Naturally, perceptions of how far intra-regional cooperation should go do vary and it would not be surprising to find some individual members more keen on certain aspects of cooperation than others. Economic cooperation can come in many forms and it need not be in quantifiable trade and investment figures. As Foreign Affairs Minister S. Dhanabalan once noted, the payoff ASEAN offers is the environment of confidence that is conducive to business which results from the stability of relations among its member-countries.

As a grouping, however, ASEAN has some ground to cover before it can realise its full potential. The Malaysian leader has rightly observed that ASEAN should review its relationship with dialogue partners which have been less

than forthcoming in their responses to proposals to strengthen economic and political ties. It is not that ASEAN expects the U.S., Japan, the European Community, Canada, Australia and New Zealand to hand out largesse. Dialogue sessions have been conducted with mutual benefit in mind. However, a dialogue is useful in so far as both parties are not only serious about cooperation but actually take steps to translate intentions into deeds. Otherwise one cannot avoid the impression that only lip service is being paid to the virtues of closer ties.

CSO: 4200/506

SINGAPORE

BRIEFS

1984 EXPORT FIGURES--Singapore exporters had good reason to smile last year. Exports hit a record high to \$51.34 billion and it was the first time since 1980 that a double-digit gain was registered. Latest government statistics show that exports last year grew by 11 percent, compared with 3.8 percent in 1983, 0.4 percent in 1982 and 6.8 percent in 1981. In 1980, a boom year, exports grew by 34 percent. Another positive point was that Singapore's trade deficit last year narrowed to \$9.8 billion, from \$13.4 billion in 1983. This was because imports edged up by only 2.7 percent, lagging far behind export growth. The United States remained Singapore's top market, accounting for \$10.3 billion of all exports. Singapore, which has traditionally incurred a deficit in its trade with the U.S., chalked up a surplus of \$1.4 billion, the first since 1975. [Excerpt] [Singapore THE STRAITS TIMES in English 9 Feb 85 p 1 BK]

CSO: 4200/506

MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GENERAL RECOMMENDS MEASURES TO IMPROVE MILITARY TRAINING

Hanoi TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese Sep 84 pp 42-50

[Article by Brigadier-General Duong Han: "Strive To Improve the Quality of Training in the Armed Forces School System"]

[Text] Understanding thoroughly the resolution of the Political Bureau on the reform of education, the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee has issued Resolution Number 36 on military training. The resolution defined fundamental issues regarding requirements, missions, structural organization and implementation measures in each phase in order to meet the needs of building our armed forces in its regularization and modernization process.

The past 3 years have been the first phase of the implementation of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission's resolution, and also a period of time when our country and our armed forces embarked on a new historical era. Our country just came out of a protracted war and was seriously destroyed. The whole nation progressed toward socialism from a poor, backward agricultural economy. Our people endeavored to rebuild the country and in the meantime, had to fight a multifaceted and insidious war waged by the expansionist and hegemonist Peking clique. Our armed forces had to maintain combat readiness or actually had to fight, but meanwhile unceasingly strove toward regularization and modernization, and participated in production. The armed forces school system was molded and in the process of being improved, but much had to be done. Nevertheless, under the clear-sighted leadership of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee and direct guidance of the Political Bureau, the armed forces school system has made important initial achievements which served as a solid foundation for the accomplishment of the objectives set forth by the Military Commission's resolution.

In the past 3 years, the armed forces school system has been unceasingly consolidated, developed and relatively perfected in terms of infrastructure and organization; the performance of education and training moved step by step toward regularization and unification. Up to present, it includes: seven institutes, tens of military colleges, and hundreds of schools of military administration, local training schools, and professional and technical schools. The system of military institutes and schools has assured the formation and improvement of intermediate- and advanced-level cadres

under a basic, regular curriculum program and an accelerated, complementary program for both commanding and staff officers of regular units as well as local cadres in charge of military duties. Schools and cultural courses have assured the betterment of the education level of cadres who became the corps of regular, modern officers, thousands of tactical-level officers, and tens of thousand detachment commanders. The quality of trained cadres was clearly enhanced. An absolute majority of detachment commanders, after graduation, have performed their tasks well and have been promoted.

The direction and conduct of education and training in institutes and schools have begun to follow a regularized and long-range module. School structure has taken form and is developing its function as a staff agency assisting the commander in management and leadership, and in the execution of education and training tasks in order to gradually move toward regularization and unification.

In parallel with a continuous endeavor to enhance the quality of teaching and learning, institutes and schools are promoting scientific research. The latter's thrust has been placed on defining objectives, needs, training modules and new methods in accordance with specialized curricula of the institutes and schools. Tangible results in teaching and learning have been obtained. This scientific research has realistically contributed to the national defense and economic production of our country and our armed forces.

Bearing in mind the difficult times our country and armed forces are going through, several institutes and schools, with the motto, "Commanders and Subordinates Work Together," have directed their research teams to edit [training] documents, improve the production of models and [training] aids and develop the most worthwhile teaching and learning methods in terms of pedagogy. As a result, the quality of teaching and learning has dramatically improved and a substantial saving of public funds has been achieved.

However, compared with the needs of the missions of building regular and modern armed forces, the formation and training of officers at institutes and schools have several weaknesses. Resolution No 36 of the Military Commission clearly indicated that the present major problem in military training has been that, "the quality of the formation and training of cadres in institutes and schools is still low and those institutions are unable to meet the crucial demands of the building of a total and solid infrastructure of units..."

Formation, distribution and employment plans and projects were not closely related to the assignment of cadres and not carefully formulated. As a result, annual target numbers of trainees were too great, exceeding the training establishments' intake capabilities and assurance for quality.

Curricula, scheduling and lesson plans were not unified and regularized. Some schools even made changes or cut down programs at their convenience.

The corps of teaching and management cadres in institutes and schools was not complete, strong and homogenous enough to meet the needs of education reform. They did not pay enough attention to better the material, spiritual and cultural lives or cadres and trainees. Administration of trainees was not improved in accordance with the new methods of teaching.

As it pertains to institutes and schools in charge of formation and training of cadres, the above situation requires drastic changes in terms of perception, concepts and organization and also realistic, systematic, homogenous and efficient measures to ascertain the successful implementation of the Military Commission's 5-year plan on military training.

1. We Must Concentrate Our Efforts on Improving the Quality of Formation and Training of Unit Cadres in Order That They Be Quantitatively Sufficient and Qualitatively Strong.

We all know that the quality of the education and formation of officers is the product of many factors, such as the correct determination of objectives and formation modules; the completion of courses and subjects with progressive and scientific context and training methods; the building of a strong corps of teachers and management cadres; the correct selection of trainees according to criteria; and the employment and refresher training of graduates in conformance with their fields and capabilities, etc. Of late, because of an erroneous understanding of the meaning of raising the quality of training, some establishments have, at times, lacked consistency and homogeneity in the conduct of training and adversely affected the quality of training and the use of cadres.

Under the unified and centralized leadership of the head of the Political Bureau, agencies having a direct function in the formation of cadres (Department of Cadres, Department of Draft Organization, Department of Training) have to coordinate their efforts in calculating the numbers of cadres needed, the general capacity and the capacity of each school and each specialization in order to formulate formation and training projects correctly. We must strive to form enough junior cadres (platoon and company levels) in 1985.

To reach this objective, we must take positive measures to reorganize the system of schools and to define the functions and missions of each element. With regard to officer schools, we need to focus on their principal mission of basic and long-range formation. Military region's and corps' schools of military administration must concentrate on complementary and short-range formation with emphasis on the formation of platoon cadres to meet the needs of their tables of organization and equipment.

Enhancing the quality of formation and training encompasses a total effort, but we have to bear in mind that enhancing the quality of practical training is foremost. Although specialties and educational levels are different in each school, practical training generally takes many hours in

the curriculum. Training must be conducted in such a manner that each trained cadre has a good grasp of the basics of the program while he becomes technically and practically able. He must be skilled in his specialty, efficient in the organization of his command, his training and in the management of his unit. In order to accomplish this objective, the leadership and the education and training managers at institutes and schools need to concentrate their efforts: in the preparation of training, including curriculum, plan, contents, methods, and training cadres; in making the training site physically ready and appropriately equipped; in strictly adhering to training plans and targets; in creating a concrete change in improving the quality of training; and in assuring that graduates will not feel outdone by the leaping progress of science, military art and technology, and enable themselves to assume higher responsibilities.

## 2. We Must Reinforce the Education and Training Corps of Cadres in Charge of Research, Teaching and Training Operations.

The corps of instructors and of training management and operations cadres is the force that directly decides the quality of formation and training. At present, this force is numerically insufficient and qualitatively weak and the organizational structure is not homogenous enough to address the requirements of the new methods of training. On the other hand, most instructors and experienced management cadres are becoming older or physically frail. The next generation, primarily those cadres in charge of training departments, is insufficient. Therefore, a concerted effort to improve the quality of the corps of instructors and of management cadres is currently a most urgent need and a decisive factor in the improvement of the quality of the training of cadres. In order to ensure a sufficient number of instructors while continuing to improve their quality in the coming years (1984-1985), the Political Bureau intends to resolutely move able cadres from units to institutes and schools. Besides, we must select those trainees who have graduated from basic training courses with satisfactory or excellent ratings and who are deemed able to perform scientific research and to teach, and send them to schools specialized in advanced training in country or abroad. They will constitute the next generation of instructors. However, the most "strategic" and realistic measure at present in the framework of the formation and training of instructors is on-the-job training. Institutes and schools need to maintain permanently a regime of on-the-job training and mock training sessions and lectures; to organize meetings and seminars to discuss special subjects, such as pedagogy, military pedagogy, etc, to enhance the professional level of instructors. On the other hand, we must encourage self-improvement by learning. We must set up a regime, policies and create favorable conditions to assist those comrades who are specialized in scientific and educational research or those who have other scientific projects to continue their self-improvement and their teaching capabilities. In 1984, we will make a first step in developing this formation plan in universities in country and abroad. In the immediate future, we will seek the assistance of friendly countries to lay an initial infrastructure. In the long range, the formation of cadres in our own country will be principal. Also this year, we will

consider and recommend the conferring of scientific, teaching and educational management titles to those cadres and instructors who qualify or who have made worthwhile contributions to military training in accordance with government statutes and the needs of the armed forces.

### 3. [We Must] Promote Scientific Research.

Teaching, learning and scientific research have a very close relationship which is instrumental in unceasingly improving the quality of the formation and training of cadres in institutes and schools. For this reason, institutes and schools need to formulate a plan for scientific research aiming at an optimum use of their intellectual, material and technological resources. S&T research in institutes and schools will be conducted in the following two fields:

- General issues affecting the entire armed forces and some government topics;
- Scientific/educational issues directly assisting teaching and learning.

In strict adherence to the above context and direction, research in institute and schools must explore in depth issues such as science and the military art, and science and the military technology in accordance with the nature and characteristics of our economy, topography, weather, climate, and our people's and armed forces' traditions. Emphasis should be placed on issues relating to science and military art and military technology in the context of our present building and protection of our fatherland. In educational science research, priority must be placed in studying military pedagogy, psychology and physiology, teaching and learning methods, student psychology, and improvement of student management methods.

In order to integrate the improvement of the quality of education and training with approved scientific studies, in the immediate future, we must consolidate the organization of scientific research agencies in institutes and schools. Those agencies will become an improved system from the Political Bureau to the grassroots, with a unified leadership and appropriate statutes, regime and policies. The purpose is to mobilize all capabilities and potentials in the development of science, military art and technology and the other S&T sectors of the country.

### 4. We Must Improve the Recruiting and Enlisting Regime.

Recruiting and enlisting students are of crucial importance in the improvement of the quality of formation and training of cadres for the armed forces in the immediate future as well as in the long haul. This great policy of the party and of the government was decided by the Council of Ministers and was the object of a resolution by the Standing Committee of the Military Commission. It was the focus of attention of the party's leadership and of the various levels of local governments. It was warmly welcomed by popular groups inside and outside the armed forces. Owing to this support, and although military recruiting was still new, its implementation was

widespread in the whole country, inside and outside the armed forces, and on all battlefields. Each year, tens of thousand youths, school students and outstanding combatants, realizing their responsibility vis-a-vis the protection of the fatherland, enthusiastically responded. Nevertheless, generally speaking, recruiting still has many weaknesses and cannot meet the needs for improving the quality of the formation and training of cadres. Recruiting criteria were not strictly observed. Recruiting sources were not carefully prepared. The ratio of recruits from minorities in southern provinces was still low. The distribution of candidates taking and passing entrance examinations was not balanced. Prospective trainees for professional and technical schools were larger in number than those for officer schools. In order to insure the quantity and quality of recruiting, agencies in charge of recruiting at schools and institutes need to coordinate with command and leadership organizations at the local level, educational and health sectors, and youth women's groups, etc. They must have plans to educate, proselytize the youths, provide them with job counseling and invite them to volunteer and to choose their specialties in an organized manner, and, in the meantime, they must insure that recruiting is done according to standards and regulations promulgated by the Ministry of Defense.

Prospective candidates for officer schools must meet the following qualifications: political quality, health, and graduates from general secondary schools. They must be under 25 years of age and must take an entrance examination (if recruited) or have the appropriate educational level (if enlisted). To be admitted to a short-term course at a school of military administration (detachment level), one must meet political standards, have good health and must absolutely have taken a squad leader course and have been a squad leader at least 6 months.

On the other hand, research should be concentrated on the formulation of projects and plans to create sources of recruiting in an active and permanent manner for each specialty, each school and each cluster of schools. This responsibility is not necessarily that of the institutes and schools but must be shared by party organizations, local government, the unit commanders and their staffs, people's groups and general secondary schools, etc. There must be a good balance between quantity and quality, in the ratio of minorities, and in the ratio between specialties. This balance should be achieved in the creation of sources of recruiting by paying special attention in providing education and career counseling for minority youths in the southern provinces, and for children of cadres and public servants who have a good perception of their responsibilities and duties in the building of the armed forces and in the protection of the fatherland. They must realize that they are part of the next generation to continue and develop the glorious revolution of their elders and enthusiastically and voluntarily take entrance examinations for officer schools. Source-creating plans of each school and institute must be well prepared and contain concrete and permanent measures. Close cooperation with zones and areas must be assured for implementation of the plans. Creating recruiting sources among the military is the responsibility of the Department of Cadres in close coordination with the Department of Draft Organization and that of

**Military Training.** With respect to youths and combatants in the armed forces, career education must be provided and a source-creating plan must be formulated when they enlist. This is the responsibility of units at the company and regimental levels. In regard to youths outside the armed forces, close cooperation is needed between their families, their schools and society. The Ho Chi Minh Youths Groups and the schools must be the nucleus for their professional military education, starting from the first years of general secondary school. Organize annual conventions of youths for the protection of the fatherland, other traditional festivals, and local commemorative celebrations to invite youths and students to take entrance examinations for military schools that have been earmarked for the area. In parallel with career education, there should be encouragement to meet the recruiting targets for each area, each locality and each school.

Recruiting is not done for several kinds of schools at the same time, but is designed to recruit students for a specific school. Therefore, each institute and each school in the armed forces must possess an active recruiting plan for each course and for the long-range formation plan. They must closely coordinate their effort with local schools, units and authorities (in the assigned areas) in their plans to build and nourish their recruiting sources in a permanent manner. Before conducting the preliminary selection and entrance examination, the training school must review all registered candidates. The school must endeavor to improve their examination procedures to be used in place so that military student recruiting can be done correctly and accurately according to standards set forth by the ministry. This will allow the school to have more contacts with prospective candidates and to review their situation before making them regular, modern officers of the armed forces.

**5. [We Must] Care For the Material, Spiritual and Cultural Lives [of Students]; Insure a Good Physical and Technical Infrastructure For Training.**

This is an urgent issue that has an important effect on the quality of formation and training and that has been a prime concern of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission and the Ministry of Defense. To achieve this, there is a need for coordination between functional agencies, sectors, various levels inside and outside the armed forces from the Defense Ministry down to schools and institutes under the motto, "Commanders and Subordinates Work Together." However, the main responsibility is with directors, principals, and political, rear-service and technical directors of institutes and schools. It has been observed that in these difficult times, wherever the institute or school's commander is caring for the lives of teachers and students and has instituted realistic and concrete measures to achieve this, everybody's life is more comfortable and consequently, the quality of training is better. The Army Officers School Number II, the Political Officers School, the Military Medical School, the Rear-Service School are concrete and living examples. In the near future, the ministry will take the Political Officers School as a model to study this issue and invite all military schools to learn from the experience.

Pending that, each school and institute must have a plan to promote production or any other economic projects commensurate with its capabilities and potentials in order to improve the lives of their cadres, students and employees. Combining labor production with teaching and learning will not only improve the lives of cadres and students, ameliorate their eating and living quarters, provide them with edifying cultural and entertainment activities, and contribute to the betterment of the school and classes. It also has the purpose of carrying out the mottos: "Learning Goes Along With Doing" and "The School Is Closely Related to Society, to the Unit." Along this line, the school will train its men, build a new pattern of cadre and trainee, and carry out the mottos: "The School Goes Abreast" and "The School Is the Center of the Center" to educate and train new, educated men for our people's armed forces.

Caring for material life and building a way of life commensurate with regular, educated units should be the unvarying aim of each man, each element, and of the whole school for the immediate future as well as in a long-term plan. Therefore, the school must formulate plans accordingly, set up concrete measures including goals and targets and bring about the enthusiasm and self-awareness of the masses. It must endeavor to launch a strong and widespread popular movement and avoid compelling and coercive attitudes and bureaucratic behavior that adversely affect teaching and learning.

Insuring a good physical and technical infrastructure for training is a prerequisite for raising the quality of education and training under the new program and method. At present, because of new developments pertaining to objectives and expanded specialties, institutes and schools are equipped with modern and elaborate equipment, primarily those schools belonging to modern, technological branches and services such as the Air Force Command and Technical School, the Navy School, the Missile School, etc. While technological equipment has been modernized, the skill level of commanders and their technical staffs in institutes and schools in handling and maintaining that equipment is still limited. Moreover, the use of modern equipment is piecemeal whereas its effect on quality training is significant.

To overcome the above difficulty, each school, cluster of schools or institutes under the jurisdiction of the ministry must invest in their specialized training equipment in a coordinated, appropriate manner.

Regarding capital construction, the ministry should concentrate on schools under Soviet aid and step up the completion of a certain number of projects and drill grounds to be used in the 1984 training year, and of certain training centers approved by the ministry.

The Joint General Staff has been working on a long-range plan for the earliest construction of a number of integrated drill grounds which will be equipped with weapons, technical means and necessary training aids to serve training programs. Those integrated drill grounds will serve clusters of schools and will be organized and administered by one of their units. This arrangement will save material supplies, avoid dispersion and the piecemeal

use of training facilities and meanwhile assure the execution of the motto, "The School Goes Abreast," in technical equipment training. It will insure that after training, the cadre will not get lost with the new equipment in the table of organization and equipment upon his return to his unit.

However, with our limited material supplies and budget, the execution of the motto, "Commander And Subordinates Work Together" is even more than appropriate. Institutes, schools, military regions, services and branches should develop the spirit of self-reliance, self-strengthening, and actively build, administer and make good use of training facilities and aids, primarily specialized training rooms, training installations, drill grounds for tactical training, firing ranges, technical drill grounds belonging to branches and special forces, etc. If we can do that, it is sure that our training material and technical investment will be more centralized; the management, use and maintenance of training facilities will be more judicious and convenient; training expenses will be lower; and we can get better results in the use of technical equipment and material infrastructure for training. The end result will be an improvement of the quality of formation and training in schools.

In this new phase, our revolutionary mission is to gradually transform our armed forces into regular, modernized units having a high combat preparedness level, able to fight successfully, and ready to crush any enemy invasion schemes or attempts. This mission creates new and heavy tasks for institutes and schools in the formation of cadres.

Under the correct and direct leadership of the former Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee now the Ministry of Defense's Military Council and with the concerted efforts of all cadres, trainees and employees in schools and training commands, military training in the past 3 years has gone through substantial changes and made significant progress. Nevertheless, in the immediate future, we will have to do many important and urgent things and need more efforts in order to successfully carry out the resolution the Standing Committee of the Military Commission.

The above are some of my recommendations for further review and consideration. I wholeheartedly hope that all levels, sectors, agencies, units and schools will bring their valuable contributions so that military training may go through more radical changes, make more vigorous progress and be able to accomplish the mission of formation and training of cadres in order to make our armed forces stronger and ready to fulfill any mission entrusted them by the party and the people.

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CSO: 4209/107

MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MILITARY ACADEMIES, COLLEGES, ADVANCED SCHOOLS LISTED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 17 Dec 84 p 3

[ Article: "Military Academies, Military Colleges and Advanced Schools" ]

[Text] Military academies:

1. High-level Military Academy: It has the task of training staff commanding officers of strategic and campaign levels.
2. Army Academy: It has the task of training staff commanding officers of campaign and tactical levels.
3. Military Political Academy: It has the task of training political officers having political and military capabilities of campaign and tactical levels.
4. Logistical Academy: It has the task of training logistics staff commanding officers of campaign and tactical levels.
5. Military Technology Academy: It has the task of training technical officers having technical capabilities of college level (engineers) and military knowledge of campaign and tactics; at the same time, training deputies in charge of technical equipment at regimental and higher levels, and training at above-college level.
6. Military Medical Academy: It has the task of training medical-corps officers of medical college level (physicians) and having military knowledge of campaign and tactics; at the same time, training physicians as medical directors at regimental and higher levels, and training at above-college level.

Military colleges and advanced schools:

- a. Military Foreign Language College: It has the task of training officers having college-level foreign language capabilities and military knowledge of campaign and tactics.

b. The advanced military schools, consisting of officer training schools, have the task of training officers having military capabilities of intermediate level and college-level technical knowledge in the specialized fields of training:

1. Army Officer School 1
2. Army Officer School 2
3. Army Officer School 3
4. Artillery Officer School
5. Antiaircraft Artillery Officer School
6. Special Operations Officer School
7. Border Defense Officer School
8. Chemical Antidotes Officer School
9. Logistical Officer School
10. Financial Officer School
11. Technical Officer School
12. Weapons, Ammunitions Officer School
13. Map Officer School
14. Military Political Officer School
15. Air Technology Commanding Officer School
16. Naval Technology Commanding Officer School
17. Rocket, Radar Technology Commanding Officer School
18. Tank Technology Commanding Officer School
19. Information Technology Commanding Officer School
20. Engineer Technology Commanding Officer School
21. Automobile Technology Commanding Officer School.

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CSO: 4209/167

## MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### INITIATIVES BRING PROGRESS TO TRAINING IN ARMY SCHOOLS

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 17 Dec 84 pp 3, 4

[ Article by Nguyen Chu Phac: "New Progress in Army Schools" ]

[Text] Carrying out the resolution of the CPV Central Committee Political Bureau and the directive of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the CPV Central Committee on educational reforms, the army schools were seriously and effectively fulfilling some of their important goals. They included building the material and technical base in general and strengthening the means of teaching in particular. They dealt with materializing the contents of education and training, improving the teaching methods and creating a good environment for education and training. As the army schools were doing the work amidst the common difficulties of the country and the army and in the face of a new and crafty enemy, a question they had to think about was what road to take and how to reach the goal of training and to fulfill their political task. It was inevitable that in the course of resolving the question they had to go through a stage of groping in the dark and to expend a lot of sweat and energy. By now many schools have by themselves made thousands of technical means of teaching, have had hundreds of valuable initiatives and have quickly applied technical progress to education-training and life with realistic and positive results.

The scientific conference on the technical means of teaching held early last November and attended by the academies, colleges, officer schools and some other schools in the army as a whole displayed 252 initiatives, which partially reflected the creativity and self-sufficiency of the army schools.

Their creativity and self-sufficiency not only saved hundreds of millions of dong and created a new quality in training but also helped to change the quality of the brains and hands of teachers and students and to move the army schools forward. The realities in a life of production and combat, in the daily living and in the educating and training process had helped the army schools to find that a full awareness of the scientific and technical revolution being the key

factor did not exist everywhere and all the time and that this awareness was different for different people, units and localities and in different situations of material want. Their correct views and the progress made in connection with this awareness made important contributions to the army schools absorbing science and technology, being creative, making their own technical means of teaching and applying technical progress to their training.

The strengthening of the material and technical base in the schools was regulated by the Ministry of National Defense legal documents and received guidance from the organs in charge. Party resolutions were reaching the masses through tight leadership and command, along with positive organizational measures. The efforts of the army schools to be creative, to make their own technical means of teaching and to apply technical progress to the training process were turned into a widespread, pure and healthy mass movement. The authors of many self-sufficiency initiatives included older leading and commanding cadres like the colonel-president of the Engineer Technology Commanding Officer School, who made a vehicle cabin for driving practice; the lieutenant colonel-deputy president of the Special Operations Officer School, who had the initiative and made a sand table capable of presenting 40 traffic situations; and many professors, MA degree holders, engineers and large numbers of teaching cadres, as well as students and combatants like Tran Quoc Hung, a nurse in the Engineer Logistics School, who designed and successfully assembled an inexpensive machine used in training operations.

The quality of initiatives was improved in terms of science and technology in general and mostly the teaching function, for the purpose of heightening the ability to practice and linking the schools with society, productive labor, drill grounds and battlefields. Some technical means of teaching not only showed a high teaching function but also contained good learning techniques. This has proved that the schools closely adhered to their training goals, the principle of education advocated by the party and their political task in order to be creative, to make technical means of teaching and to apply technical progress to education and training, as the leaders of the General Staff, Political General Department and Technical General Department pointed out.

That showed the goals set for the technical means of teaching and the role of the party and education in the training process, which helped to form the new men in the armed forces, to improve the quality of training of the party's "technicians" in military matters and to form and perfect the teaching of pure revolutionary sentiments, the communist confidence and the true ability to act.

By their creativity and by making their own technical means of teaching, some schools located hundreds of kilometers or over 1,000 kilometers from the battlefields were able to make people feel like they were fighting with cadres and combatants on battlefields and overcoming difficulties in new combat tasks.

The schools that train party cadres and political cadres, such as the Political Academy and the Political Officer School, and the social sciences departments of the schools that train commanding cadres and management and specialized technical cadres also created good teaching programs and specialized classrooms devoted to party history, philosophy, party work-political work, and also widely used the technical means, particularly the combined audio-visual means.

A high degree of self-sufficiency and unique, intelligent and creative technical measures helped many schools to overcome the seemingly unsurmountable difficulties and thus to ensure having enough educational and training equipment and at the same time putting aside many means and equipment for combat readiness. Along with the initiatives calling for adhering to the development of modern technology achieved by the Military Technology Academy and made by the Air, Naval and Information Technology Commanding Officer Schools and the Border Defense Officer School, the many elementary and modern initiatives made by the Army Officer Schools 1 and 2, Artillery Officer School and Tank Technology Commanding Officer School, such as the ones about night firing drills, disappearing and mobile shooting marks, shooting while holding the barrel of one's gun, magnetic maps, sand tables made of coarse paper and magnetic material and all-purpose sand tables, the latter made by the Political Academy and jointly by the Army Officer School 1 and Automobile Technology Commanding Officer School, could be widely applicable for all units in the army. As they were carrying out educational reforms, all officer schools had courses teaching law, traffic regulations, driving, foreign languages and electrical technology; in the meantime, many initiatives were born, such as the ones about learning traffic regulations made by the Special Operations and Chemical Antidotes Officer Schools; driving by the Engineer and Army Officer Schools and Tank Technology Commanding Officer School; foreign language drill booths by the Logistical Officer School, and so on. The initiative about a repair procedures control machine was made by the Information Technology Middle School and one about an electrical technology drill panel by the Air Force Staff Officer School. In the case of the schools in the North, which taught operations of vehicles, machines and equipment in classrooms, special-purpose rooms, nearby exercise grounds or general firing range on a daily basis but encountered irregular supply of electric power, they made many initiatives about using classrooms and technical means during electric power cutoffs. The matter of supply and distribution of gas and oil also was the subject for initiatives made by many schools, including the Logistical Academy, Logistical and Political Officer Schools, etc., to ensure storage and savings while maintaining the educational and training functions. The realities of society, battlefields and daily life of cadres and combatants thus became a moving force behind the creativity and self-sufficiency of all army schools. That could be the strategic question, the great question and the question of scope as many scientific researchers have mentioned.

In addition to savings of tens of millions of dong made by the officer schools in the assembly and installation of modern classrooms there was the persistent and creative work aimed at creating technical means of teaching in conformity with the party line on local people's war and achieving all-people fight against aggression, such as the use of spikes, mines, traps, etc. in teaching by the local military school of Haiphong and the Military Region 3 Military School and the means of teaching specially designed for the ethnic minority cadres and combatants by the Military Region 2 Military Political School.

There were collective works to which the teaching cadres of all schools had been contributing labor and energy, such as the command exercise ground and gas-oil supply facility of the Logistical Academy. All of the 18 cadres in the faculty of the latter, who mostly are old, still maintained regular teaching while for 5 consecutive months in the summer trying to build, assemble and install it. In addition there were the interrupted project of the Wilheim Pick Technical School and the classroom for practice of the Financial Officer School.

The Military Medical Academy particularly did some very creative work. In addition to its 10 schools being put into Class 1, it had many people in almost all departments and wards and in the practical hospital having made valuable scientific initiatives, which were highly evaluated, such as a model showing the working of the nervous system, dry specimens, a combination of technical means of teaching in the mental health department, and so on.

The spirit of self-sufficiency of the schools plus the assistance from the responsible organs, the cooperation among the schools and the cooperation inside and outside of the army have been helping to properly exploit, use and restore the technical means of teaching of foreign countries.

The army schools have been taking that road by using the strength of solidarity and by developing the talent of every member of their staffs, particularly their teaching cadres, in accordance with the slogan, "All wholeheartedly work for the school, for the battlefield."

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CSO: 4209/167

MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ARMY PAPER RELATES HAIPHONG'S ENHANCED DEFENSE

OW010725 Hanoi VNA in English 0709 GMT 1 Feb 85

[Text] Hanoi Feb 1st [dateline as received]--Northern Vietnam's major port-city of Haiphong is expanding into the sea to develop its economy and strengthen its defence potential.

In an article published in the army paper QUAN DOI NHAN DAN on January 28, Colonel Truong Xuan, commander of the city's garrison, tells about how the city is combining economic development with national defence.

He writes: In the face of the food problem arising from the fact that more and more crop fields are marked off for urban and industrial development and from a still high rate of population growth--over two per cent--Haiphong has launched dozens of drives to extend its arable soil into the sea. Up to now it has added almost 10,000 hectares to its acreage by this method.

The local armed forces and militia have always shouldered the heaviest tasks in building dykes, digging irrigation canals and constructing other major economic projects.

The newly-formed soil has yielded several thousand tons of grain annually and is expected to give several dozen thousand tons a year in the future when acidity and salt water will have been brought under control.

Apart from economic benefits, the new lands are of great military significance. With the trenches and fortifications built there, the city's defence capacity has been extended into the sea, giving rise to a strong defence system capable of thwarting all eventual foreign invasion of Vietnam through the port-city.

CSO: 4200/490

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, TRADE AND AID

SRV FOREIGN MINISTRY 'CONDEMNS' PRC 'THREATS'

OW021217 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1126 GMT 2 Feb 85

[*"Statement"* issued 2 February by a spokesman of the SRV Foreign Ministry--  
read by announcer]

[Text] Recently, along with massing troops close to the border and stepping up their armed provocations to create extreme tension in Vietnam-China border areas, the Chinese rulers have hurled threats of war at the SRV. The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman brazenly stated that the Chinese border troops are combat ready. Particularly important is the recent statement by the Chinese foreign minister that China reserves for itself the right to give Vietnam a second lesson.

These statements and acts by the Chinese side are aimed at covering up their aggressive acts against the Vietnamese people and achieving their expansionist and hegemonic designs vis-a-vis the three Indochinese countries, thus running counter to the desire for peace of the peoples of the Southeast Asian countries, of the world, and of China itself.

The SRV Government severely condemns the Chinese rulers' aggressive acts and bellicose statements.

The government and people of Vietnam, now as in the past, have always treasured the traditional friendship with the Chinese people. They have been striving to calm tension and restore the normal relations between the two countries. At the same time, the Vietnamese people will resolutely counter all provocations by the Chinese rulers to protect the fatherland's sovereignty, territory, and security.

The Chinese rulers must be held fully responsible for all consequences arising from their adventurous acts.

CSO: 4209/195

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, TRADE AND AID

CPSU, LPRP, KPRP GREET CPV ON 55TH ANNIVERSARY

OW050755 Hanoi VNA in English 0722 GMT 5 Feb 85

[Text] Hanoi VNA Feb. 5--The Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) Central Committee has received messages from various fraternal parties greeting the CPV's 55th anniversary (Feb. 3).

In its message, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) CC said:

"The Communist Party of Vietnam is one of the well trained organizations of the international communist movement standing firmly on the position of proletarian internationalism. The CPV has made worthy contributions to the common cause of uniting the socialist community, strengthening the cooperation and coordination of actions among the fraternal parties and governments. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is persisting in its policy of averting a nuclear war and making the world atmosphere sound. The CPV is standing by the side of the Lao and Kampuchean peoples in the struggle to defend peace, stability and cooperation in Southeast Asia. The CPSU, now as in the past, supports this constructive stance."

The Lao People's Revolutionary Party CC in its message extolled the Vietnamese people's great achievements and glorious victories, which, it said, are strengthening the position of Vietnam as well as of Laos and Kampuchea. "These achievements and victories," the message continued, "were an important contribution to consolidating and developing the strength of the three Indochinese countries' revolution and of the socialist community with the Soviet Union as mainstay. They are also active contributions to the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world."

The People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea CC recalled in its message the wholehearted, generous and disinterested support and assistance of the party, government and people of Vietnam to the Kampuchean people in their revolutionary struggle for national salvation and revival as well as in the resistance against the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists and their allies. The message said:

"We will never forget the examples of proletarian internationalism set by the party, government, army and people of Vietnam in their support for the Kampuchean people's revolution, creating conditions for us to firmly defend our national independence and build our country on the road toward genuine socialism," the message stressed.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, TRADE AND AID

BULGARIAN, ROMANIAN, DPRK PARTIES GREET CPV

OW060917 Hanoi VNA in English 0813 GMT 6 Feb 85

[Text] Hanoi VNA Feb 5--Warm greetings have been sent by the central committees of fraternal communist parties to the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee (CPV) on the latter's 55th anniversary (Feb. 3).

The message addressed by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] extolled the CPV, "born under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution and trained by the late President Ho Chi Minh--a legendary son of the Vietnamese people and an outstanding activist of the international communist and workers' movement," as an "organizer of every victory of the Vietnamese revolution."

After recalling the successes recorded by the Vietnamese people in implementing the CPV's Fifth Congress resolutions with assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the message reaffirmed the Bulgarian Communist Party and people's [words indistinct] be against the imperialists, hegemonists and international reaction, in defence of their national independence and sovereignty, in strengthening the friendship with Laos and Kampuchea and maintaining peace in Southeast Asia."

The BCP CC noted with satisfaction the increasing international prestige of the CPV and expressed admiration for the CPV's tireless efforts aimed at enhancing solidarity in the international communist and workers' movement and strengthening unity among the socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the message said.

In its message, the Romanian Communist Party CC highly praised the leading role of the CPV in the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against colonialism and imperialism, in their socialist revolution and struggle for national reunification.

The Romanian Communist Party expressed its joy at the achievements obtained by the Vietnamese people in their national construction under the leadership of the CPV.

The Workers' Party of Korea Central Committee also sent a message greeting the CPV anniversary, praising the leadership of the CPV in the protracted and hard struggle of the Vietnamese people for national salvation and construction.

CSO: 4200/490

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, TRADE AND AID

VIETNAMESE AMBASSADOR SAYS PRC ATTACK IMMINENT

FL051726 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1525 GMT 5 Feb 85

[Excerpts] Mexico City, 5 Feb (NOTIMEX)--Socialist Republic of Vietnam [SRV] Ambassador to Mexico Nguyen Minh Phuong has said he believes that an armed invasion of his country by the PRC is imminent.

After saying that Vietnam is ready to fight any war attack, no matter what the size of the enemy, the ambassador said his government was ready to begin negotiations with China in order to avoid a confrontation between the two nations.

Minh Phuong said his government had proposed to China a complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia if a simultaneous withdrawal of Khmer Rouge guerrillas took place.

His government also proposed that it would stop using Thai territory as a base for destabilizing activities against its neighbor. Minh Phuong said Thailand was used as Honduras is to attack the Nicaraguan revolution in Central America.

Vietnam has suggested that free general elections be held in this southeastern region of Asia.

It also asks that an international conference on Southeastern Asia be held attended by nations which have contributed at other times to peace in the region and those countries interested in a peaceful solution.

The nations that could attend the conference would be: Sweden, Australia, the United States, France, the UK, India, the Soviet Union, and even the PRC, among others.

CSO: 4200/490

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, TRADE AND AID

BRIEFS

JALLUD RECEIVES GENERAL GIAP--Tripoli, 10 Jumada awal, 1 Feb, Jamahiriyyah News Agency--Staff Major Abd al-Salam Ahmed Jallud received this morning General Nguyen Giap, the deputy minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. [Text] [Tripoli JANA in English 1815 GMT 1 Feb 85 LD]

MEDICAL COOPERATION WITH USSR--Hanoi VNA February 1--A delegation of the Public Health Ministry of the Soviet Union led by Vice Minister N. M. Shmakov has paid a nine-day visit to Vietnam at the invitation of the Ministry of Public Health. While here, the delegation visited several medical institutions in Hanoi and other localities. It also exchanged views with a delegation of the host ministry on a plan for the 1986-90 cooperation between the two health services of Vietnam and the Soviet Union. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0703 GMT 1 Feb 85 OW]

SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION WITH USSR--A group of Vietnamese and Soviet biologists are jointly compiling a book entitled "Vietnam's Botany." They are also studying and collecting medicinal herbs in Vietnam. The group has submitted several suggestions for the rational use of the land, forests and water in Vietnam. According to a program of cooperation between the scientific commissions of the two countries, Soviet and Vietnamese science workers are engaged in 56 projects covering most spheres of modern science from linguistics to space exploration. They plan to organize joint surveys, symposiums, practice tours and other forms of cooperation. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0701 GMT 2 Feb 85 OW]

UN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM OFFICIAL--Hanoi VNA February 1--Mr. Karl H. Englund, representative of the United Nations Development Program (U.N.D.P.), resident coordinator of the U.N. development activities, representative of the World Food Program (F.A.M.) and of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (U.N.F.P.A.) left Hanoi today ending his term of office in Vietnam. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0743 GMT 2 Feb 85 OW]

DPRK FRIENDSHIP MEETING--The D.P.R.K.-Vietnam Friendship Society (D.V.F.S.) on January 29 held a cordial get-together in Pyongyang with members of the Vietnamese Embassy on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the establishment of the diplomatic relation between Vietnam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Among those present on the occasion were Han Chong-sop, vice president of the D.V.F.S., and Vietnamese Ambassador Nguyen Giap. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0745 GMT 2 Feb 85 OW]

CHEKHOV'S BIRTHDAY MARKED--A talk in celebration of the 125th birthday of Soviet writer A. P. Chekhov was jointly held here this evening by the Vietnam-U.S.S.R. Friendship Association, the Writers' Association and the Plastic Art Workers' Association of Vietnam. It was attended by executive members of the said associations, and by representatives of the Soviet Embassy and of public offices here. B. A. Kibitrova, candidate doctor in Soviet literature, highlighted the writer's life and work. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0749 GMT 2 Feb 85 OW]

GREETINGS TO SRI LANKA--Hanoi VNA February 3--Vietnamese leaders today extended their warm greetings to the leaders of Sri Lanka on the 37th national day of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka (Feb. 4). The congratulatory message, jointly addressed by Truong Chinh, president of the State Council, and Pham Van Dong, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to President J. R. Jayewardene, and Prime Minister R. Premadasa, wished the friendly relations between Vietnam and Sri Lanka further consolidation and development. Also on this occasion, Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach has sent a message of greetings to his Sri Lanka counterpart, A.C.S. Hameed. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1534 GMT 3 Feb 85 OW]

SOCIALIST PAPERS ON INDOCHINA--Hanoi VNA February 3--The Indochinese countries now enjoy greater moral support than ever before from the socialist countries and progressive forces across the world, said the Czechoslovak daily PRAVDA in its February 1 issue. The three Indochinese countries' desire to have peace in the Southeast Asia and to find a solution to the outstanding problems in the region is clearly manifested in the joint communique of the 10th conference of the Indochinese foreign ministers held in Ho Chi Minh City recently. This desire has received worldwide support, including at the forum of the United Nations, the paper said. The paper "News of Mongolia" on January 29 carried an article condemning Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian's recent visit to Thailand as further proof of the Sino-Thai collaboration continuing their hostile acts against the Indochinese countries in general and the People's Republic of Kampuchea in particular. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1539 GMT 3 Feb 85 OW]

PRC'S 'WARLIKE STATEMENT' CONDEMNED--The MORNING STAR, central organ of the British Communist Party, carried on 31 January a commentary stressing: The solving of problems in Southeast Asia cannot be done by threats of armed aggression; it must be done, rather, by dialogue on the basis of equality and recognition of the legitimate rights of all countries in the region, as mentioned in the declaration of the 10th conference of the foreign ministers of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. The commentary continues: The warlike statement by Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian about teaching Hanoi a lesson cannot defuse the tensions along the Sino-Vietnamese border and along the Thai-Lao and Thai-Cambodian borders. China's statement about a second war of aggression against Vietnam runs counter to the statement by Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. These threatening acts of China against Vietnam pose a great danger to the peace in the region, and must be condemned by public opinion. [Text] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 5 Feb 85 OW]

CSO: 4200/490

PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

VIETNAM DEMOCRATIC PARTY MARKS CPV FOUNDING DAY

BK301427 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0500 GMT 30 Jan 85

[Text] Yesterday, 29 January, the Central Committee and Hanoi Committee of the Vietnam Democratic Party [VDP] held a grand ceremony to mark the 55th founding anniversary of the CPV. Present at the function were Hoang Quoc Viet, honorary chairman of the VFF Central Committee; Xuan Thuy, secretary in charge of party and youth union affairs of the VFF Central Committee; and representatives of the VDP.

Comrade Nghiem Xuan Yem, general secretary of the VDP, delivered a speech pointing out the great services rendered by the CPV and President Ho Chi Minh over the past half century and more in leading our people's revolutionary struggle from one victory to another and transforming the Vietnamese nation into one of the vanguard nations of our times. He said: The VDP extends its greetings to the CPV with all its revolutionary sentiments and gratitude for the wholehearted assistance given by the latter to the VDP since its founding and throughout the 40 years and more of its participation in the revolution. On the occasion of this historic, glorious anniversary, together with all the Vietnamese people, every cadre and member of the VDP--greatly proud of the glorious CPV founded, organized, and trained by President Ho Chi Minh--feels even more confidence in the lines and clear-sighted, steadfast leadership of the party. Loving the party and uniting around it, they are resolved to carry out the party's lines and policies successfully.

CSO: 4209/195

PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

HOANG TUNG CHAIRS SYMPOSIUM ON CPV ANNIVERSARY

OW021301 Hanoi VNA in English 0751 GMT 2 Feb 85

[Text] Hanoi VNA February 1--A symposium on the "Communist Party of Vietnam's leadership in the socialist construction and the transitional period" was held here from January 30 to February 1 in celebration of the 55th anniversary of the CPV (February 3).

It was sponsored by the Nguyen Ai Quoc Party Higher School under the CPV Central Committee.

It was attended by leading members, lecturers and research cadres of various schools, institutes and offices specializing in the party's ideological and theoretical work, by directors, deputy directors, professors and doctors representing the higher party schools and social sciences institutes under the central committees of the fraternal parties of the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Czechoslovakia, etc.

The symposium was presided over by Hoang Tung, secretary of the party Central Committee.

Prof. Nguyen Duc Binh, member of the party C.C. and director of the Nguyen Ai Quoc Higher Party School, delivered the main report.

Delegates also heard reports on the CPV's experiences in applying Marxism-Leninism in the practical conditions of Vietnam, on the party's leadership in the economic management, and the combination of patriotism with pure proletarian internationalism.

Participants affirmed the necessity and the importance of strengthening the solidarity and coordination within the socialist community and the international communist movement, a factor to ensure the victory of the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

CSO: 4200/490

PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

BRIEFS

HO CHI MINH CITY PARTY MEMBERSHIP--Hanoi VNA February 1--The Ho Chi Minh City committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam last year admitted 5,375 new members, accounting for ten per cent of the city's party organization. This number represents an all-time high since the liberation of South Vietnam in 1975. The newly admitted party members are all qualified people trusted by the people. They have attended basic political courses. Twelve per cent of them are workers. In industrial enterprises in particular, 67.5 per cent of the new party members are workers. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0708 GMT 1 Feb 85 OW]

TRUONG CHINH VISITS AN GIANG--Hanoi VNA February 5--Truong Chinh, Political Bureau member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and president of the State Council, at the end of January visited An Giang Province in the Mekong Delta on the occasion of the lunar new year. President Truong Chinh called on the late President Ton Duc Thang's ancestral home in My Hoa Hung village. An Giang was among the prime targets of the Chinese-backed military attacks by the Polpotists in 1977-78 and one of the worst hit by the floods of the Mekong in 1978 and 1984. But the local population has boosted agricultural production to an all-time high, bringing food production per capita to 500 in 1984 from 300 kilos in 1975. President Truong Chinh warmly praised An Giang's achievements and urged the local party committee to better combine economic build-up with defence work. On his way to Ho Chi Minh City, President Truong Chinh paid floral tribute at the tomb of Nguyen Sinh Sac, father of the late President Ho Chi Minh, in Hoa An village, Cao Lanh District, Dong Thap Province. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0719 GMT 5 Feb 85 OW]

HO CHI MINH CITY MEETING--The standing committees of the Ho Chi Minh City party and people's committees recently met to review the organization of Tet celebrations. Owing to the efforts of all sectors and levels, gambling, superstitious practices, mishaps caused by the setting off of firecrackers and the shooting of firearms, and traffic accidents were sharply reduced during the Tet festival. In 1985, the city's trade sector will invest 150 million dong to build over 4,000 retail outlets and to ensure that, by year-end, the socialist trade sector will have gained control of most of the wholesale trade and 60-70 percent of the retail trade. [Summary] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 28 Jan 85 BK]

LABOR DISTRIBUTION IN DISTRICTS--Implementing the party Central Committee's seventh plenum resolution, an all-labor sector conference recently held in Quang Nam-Danang Province decided that this year the labor sector would struggle together with all localities to basically complete the formulation of labor distribution and employment plans for the 426 districts nationwide. This is to contribute to positively implementing the policy of building districts and strengthening the district level. As of the end of 1984, some 193 districts--more than 45 percent of the districts in the country--have completed the tasks of distributing and employing labor in the districts. Although the results are different from one district to another, they have helped districts better control the source of labor in terms of quantity, quality, sex, age, occupation, and population growth. There still are 233 remaining districts where labor distribution and employment plans are to be formulated. This figure amounts to nearly 55 percent. This requires the labor sector and all localities to make great effort this year to basically complete the formulation of labor plans for 426 districts throughout the country. [Text] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 31 Jan 85 BK]

LE DUAN BOOK INTRODUCED--On page 2, QUAN DOI NHAN DAN carries an article introducing Comrade Le Duan's book: "On the Liberation War and War for National Defense in Vietnam," a theoretical and practical guide of great value. The article says: On the occasion of the glorious CPV's 55th founding anniversary, we gladly welcome Comrade Le Duan's book: "On the Liberation War and War for National Defense in Vietnam," recently published by the Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House. The book contains the comrade general secretary's writings and speeches disseminated during the period between the anti-U.S. resistance war and now. The content of the book deals with the basic issues in our party's political and military lines and reviews in depth the lessons on the success of Vietnam's revolution. With this content, the book is a precious document that contributes an important part in building and developing Vietnam's military theory and science and in guiding our people and armed forces in fulfilling the two strategic tasks of our country's revolution in the new stage and achieving even greater success. [Text] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1000 GMT 2 Feb 85 OW]

CSO: 4200/490

ECONOMIC PLANNING, TRADE AND FINANCE

EDITORIAL OUTLINES WAYS TO TIGHTEN MANAGEMENT OF MARKETS

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 15 Dec 84 p 1

[ Editorial: "Good Management of Markets" ]

[Text] On the distribution-circulation front markets are where the buying, selling and circulation of goods take place everyday. In the countryside, markets are where commodities are exchanged directly between producers and consumers and also where goods are circulated between urban and rural areas.

Recently along with the development of the socialist commercial forces, the transformation of private commerce being stepped up and the strengthening of market management, in the markets in many localities there were not only commodities brought there for sale by farmers after they had fulfilled their obligation to the state because of their families' consumption needs, or sideline-business products and goods that were beyond the realm of state purchases, but also various kinds of goods in large quantities from state commercial stores and marketing cooperatives; and there also were socialist commercial components that purchased goods at agreed prices. Many market centers were closely linked with economic-technical clusters within districts or with the socialist commercial center of a region, province, district or village.

The numbers of buyers and sellers in markets get larger and larger and grow proportionally to the development of production and the people's everyday needs. Speculators, smugglers, tax evaders, people selling counterfeit goods, people spreading false information, etc. usually operate in markets to disrupt the market. In the markets of Ho Chi Minh City, Hanoi, Haiphong and Da Nang alone, the numbers of business people coming from other places account for nearly 60 percent of the total numbers of private business people in these localities and circulate a very large amount of cash each day. Therefore, markets must be organized and managed in a very proper way.

In order to properly manage markets, first of all make arrangement, organize and provide guidance for setting up markets in new and old population centers in a scientific, rational and convenient manner, and avoid the situation in which markets are set up in any places, on sidewalks and at roadsides. At the same time, open additional stores and marketing centers of the state and collectivized commerce, move toward seizing the market, control goods and cash, stabilize prices and serve the working people. Perfect the management boards to make them satisfactorily fulfill the administrative and commercial managerial functions in markets and maintain security and order. On the other hand, pay attention to building the material base; make market buildings, booths and counters look neat and clean; and keep convenient access to markets, the foundations of the latter high and dry and clean, with enough public rest rooms, etc. We thus can attract all buyers and sellers to markets; create favorable conditions for organizing, making arrangement and providing guidance for them to occupy the proper sections, which are divided in accordance with lines of businesses, groups of commodities, etc.; and thereby establish order and apply strict forms of management.

With the experiences of some localities like Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, Hai-phong, Quang Nam-Da Nang, Thai Binh, Quang Ninh, Nghe Tinh, Hau Giang, Ha Son Binh, etc., the first steps toward good management of markets are in addition to organizing and rearranging the lines of businesses and sales centers a permanent concern about repairing and building the material base of markets. Money to be used for this mostly relies on the "let the markets feed themselves" formula, i.e., it comes from rentals of spaces for sales, fees for safeguarding bicycles, motorcycles, etc. The forces in charge of market management rely on the administration of the villages and subwards where there are markets and a close coordination of the mass organizations there, such as the Women's Association, Youth Union, Elderly People's Association, etc. State commercial organizations and marketing cooperatives extend their operations into markets; in addition to the fixed counters and stores there are mobile teams that buy and sell goods at agreed prices, particularly in connection with agricultural products and foods brought by producers to markets to sell. The market management components are to operate aggressively and combine all three -- economic, educational and administrative -- measures. This coordination of uniform activities has allowed some markets not only to expand exchanges and circulation of goods and to contribute to speeding up production and stabilizing the living conditions of working people but also to make changes in terms of quality: the number of people -- private business people, speculators and smugglers -- who were controlling most of goods in markets by buying or selling them first, raising prices and deliberately holding prices down has gradually decreased; the socialist commerce and large numbers of consumers have directly bought most of the goods sold by producers; prices now fluctuate less frequently as a new order has been established in markets; and commercial activities in markets have gradually come under the management of the socialist state.

The above-mentioned initial changes in the management of markets are encouraging ones. However, generally speaking the nationwide network of markets is encountering a slackening of management. There still are many people who did not register their business or avoided paying taxes; the number of people having no business permits remains large, as much as 50 percent in some markets. In many markets, the socialist commercial forces remain small and have poor activities; in some localities they account for only 10 percent of the total turnovers, including those of private business people, on which taxes are declared for collection. Market management boards either are not strong enough or lack integrity and effective division of work. As a result, the transformation and management of the free market in general and of market commerce in particular have been slow. That is one of the reasons why prices have been fluctuating, additional negative phenomena have appeared and considerable quantities of agricultural commodities and industrial consumer goods have gone into the hands of private business people, with the life of workers and civil servants becoming more difficult. Many localities have failed to see markets as the "hot" spot in the struggle between the two roads on the goods-circulation front as they let market management boards do whatever they could without any leadership and guidance from the local party committee echelons and administration.

Good management of markets not only contributes in a direct manner to good market management and price control and reflects commercial civilization in the new system but also directly contributes to encouraging production and stabilizing the living standard of working people, mostly for those who get regular wages.

In addition to expanding the socialist commerce to let the state control more goods and cash, stepping up the transformation of private commerce and strengthening market management, attach importance to and carry on routinely good management of markets, an indispensable form of activity of the socialist commerce.

5598  
CSO: 4209/167

AGRICULTURE

BRIEFS

NAM BO AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVIZATION--The Nam Bo provinces have redistributed 389,000 hectares of farmland and built 23,644 production collectives and 365 agricultural cooperatives, attracting 52 percent of the local peasant families to collective production work. [Text] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2220 GMT 27 Jan 85 BK]

MINH HAI LANDHOLDING READJUSTMENT--Since 1978, Minh Hai Province has redistributed 28,200 hectares of farmland to 21,845 households having no or little land for production. To date, the province has completed the readjustment of landholding, thereby doing away with exploitation in the countryside. In 1984, the local agricultural cooperativization movement made extraordinary progress. From 70 production collectives in 1979, the number has increased to 2,946, plus 54 agricultural cooperatives. Altogether, more than 51 percent of the arable land has been collectivized. [Excerpt] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1300 GMT 29 Jan 85 BK]

CSO: 4209/195

## HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

### WAYS SUGGESTED TO STOP WRONG USES OF VIDEO CASSETTES

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 15 Dec 84 p 3

[ Article by Viet Long: "How To Use and Manage Video Cassette Recorders and Tapes? " ]

[ Text ] In the last few years a cultural activity became overwhelmingly common in Ho Chi Minh City and Vung Tau-Con Dao Special Zone and spread everywhere, particularly in the southern provinces. That was the showing of artistic programs on video cassette tapes and recorders. Beginning as family-type showings and gradually becoming a business of larger scale, this activity was greatly spontaneous in character. Now it is time to unify the management of this activity, to manage it tightly and to include it in the ideological work in the present stage.

#### Attracting Power

Recently brought into our country, video cassette recorders and tapes have quickly become popular. In spite of high prices (some recorders cost around 1 million dong), recorders were imported by the localities in larger and larger quantities and now exist in almost all regions of our country. Currently, according to early statistics, Ho Chi Minh City has more than 200 recorders, Dong Nai Province 23, Minh Hai 18, Hau Giang 12, Vung Tau-Con Dao 12, and so on. The highland and border provinces like Gia Lai-Kon Tum, Hoang Lien Son and Quang Ninh also have some. With the strengths of being a modern means of communication, namely, recording and playing back instantly, having fast ability to show both pictures and sounds, pictures in beautiful colors, and so on, they really have great attracting power. If it were well organized, the video cassette recorders and tapes would positively bring to the people fine cultural values. The actual activities in a number of localities have proved that point. In Ho Chi Minh City, the Municipal People's Committee has given the Culture-Information Service the responsibility for managing all recording and playing-back activities. It registered 160 recorders and permitted wide showings of 89 films, 72 of them produced by Vietnam and

other socialist countries. The cultural sector also sent recorders to the former revolutionary bases and suburban areas (like Cu Chi), where the masses greatly welcomed the showings. The Minh Hai Culture-Information Service regularly sent them to where the mobile film units could not reach and thus helped to lessen the difference among areas in terms of enjoying cultural programs. The cultural house of Hoang Lien Son Province sent its recorders to state farms, enterprises and hamlets in many districts like Van Chan, Bao Yen and Luc Yen. In nearly 4 months, there were more than 120 showings (40 of them were free) serving tens of thousands of people. In addition to showing wholesome films, it also took pictures of real people and real things and showed them on the spot to encourage the movement for productive labor, combat and combat serving in these localities. Some localities also used video cassette recorders to popularize science and technology.

#### Wrong Direction

It was regrettable that the above-mentioned wholesome tendency had not strongly developed before a wrong one prevailed. The wrong direction was seen on both sides. Organizers of showings and viewers. The latter "like new things" as they usually wanted to see banned or "research" films, the Western films that have bad ideological and political contents; are decadent, sensational and full of thrills; praise war and killings; or are full of sad and suicidal feelings. The organizers who wanted to "please" their customers and looked for large turnovers tended to underestimate the ideological contents of films. A common sign was the showings of the so-called "neutral and harmless" films, which were made in capitalist countries and actually contained unhealthy ideas, such as the "Agent 007" films, "The Gun of the Pope," "Slave Traders," "The Policeman's Story," "The Search for Gold" and "The Devil." Generally speaking, the capitalist films that have bad contents account for more than one-half of the films that have been allowed to be shown in the localities. In Dong Nai Province, 12 of 20 films that were allowed to be shown were of that bad type. That did not include the showings in hiding of banned films, an activity that only recently was temporarily stopped because of the bitter fight of the cultural and public security sectors. Another wrongdoing that should be criticized was the fact that many localities while looking for large turnovers underestimated all technical and artistic requirements and violated the standards for serving viewers. A common practice was to put so many viewers in front of a screen that was not large enough and to fail to ensure good picture and good sound. Recently there was a showing by a southern organ of a film of bad ideological content, with "internal" admission price of 15 dong and business admission price of 30 dong, under very poor conditions for viewers (small poorly-ventilated hall with nearly 300 people crowding inside). In addition, as the number of original tapes was limited, the units in charge of showings usually used the dubbed tapes that had been made under poor technical conditions, which led to below-standard video, inaudible audio and wrong colors causing great harm to viewers' eyes.

### Reasons for the Problem

First of all, we must say that for a country having an underdeveloped economy like our country the use of video cassette recorders is a luxury; this does not even include the case of some localities, organs and factories that have poor production but use foreign exchange to import too many such recorders. Our state does not have as yet unified management over the picture-taking and -showing activity, nor a specific regulation about managing this activity to show what sectors being responsible for overall management, being permitted to make money in this business, and so on. At the present time, localities regulate the management of this activity. Many provinces and municipalities assign the overall management -- ranging from registration and issuance of permits to control over materials being shown -- to the culture-information sector (as in the case of Ho Chi Minh City, Vung Tau-Con Dao Special Zone, Haiphong, Thuan Hai, Dong Nai, Quang Ninh and Tay Ninh); others give full authorities to manage and to do business in this activity to their radio-TV station (as in the case of Minh Hai and Gia Lai-Kon Tum). Film reviewing has been lowered from national to local level. According to state regulations, any films imported from abroad must be reviewed by the National Film Reviewing Council and then given to the corporation in charge of distributing and showing films for nationwide distribution. At the present time, video tapes -- in spite of the fact that these are prints from regular celluloids -- are not subjected to reviewing by the National Film Reviewing Council. As a result, the reviewing of these tapes is done at the localities' convenience, sometimes by the provincial film-reviewing council and sometimes by a number of organs that import tapes and do business in these tapes themselves.

Commercial showing of video tapes does not follow any unified procedures, either. Admission prices are set by the localities, as low as 5-8 dong as in Thai Binh and Ho Chi Minh City, but more commonly 10-20 dong, and even 30 dong. In addition, importing tapes, making prints from original ones and distributing them all take place in a spontaneous manner. Ho Chi Minh City made a film from the stage performance of "The Life of Miss Luu" at the cost of 120,000 dong, but before it officially distributed the film, prints were offered for sale in many locations in the municipality, which caused considerable losses to the producers. Dong Nai Province recently arrested some individuals who had illegally stored tapes, made prints by using 2 video recorders, possessed 40 tapes, including 7 films from capitalist countries, and charged up to 2,000 dong for making a print from an original tape.

### Some Ideas

Video cassette recorders are only a means. Whether they bring about good or bad results depends on users and managers. If the organs that are

authorized to use video cassette recorders, a modern information- and picture-disseminating means, do not set a goal of improving the people's cultural knowledge and esthetic appreciation for themselves and pursue instead business interests, the films and video tapes from the capitalist countries will have an opportunity to spread the bourgeois poison and the ideology that is hostile to us. We cannot allow in any form the dissemination of the harmful Western culture among our people. The organs that are responsible for using video cassettes must adopt a more cautious attitude toward selecting foreign films and video tapes for dissemination.

Martial art, murder, robbery, rape and nudity films; films that arouse unhealthy sentiments like cruelty, sexual desire, belligerence and indifference to human life; and films that praise capitalism, racial discrimination, bourgeois decadent way of life and irresponsibility for the youths and for society reactionary and unpolitical tendencies must all be banned against possession and circulation.

In a number of Southeast Asian countries, they consider films and video tapes harmful products and the state orders a ban against their import. That is one way of solving the problem. But in our country the question is to have strict management through procedures and measures to be taken, to introduce video cassette recorders and tapes into the people's life in a widespread manner and to help disseminate healthy culture to every locality in every region of the country. In addition to the managerial work, which the cultural sector is mainly in charge of, we must pay attention to producing artistic programs of high quality and making prints from the good and outstanding films of both Vietnam and the socialist countries in order to supply them to the video cassette recorders throughout the country.

5598  
CSO: 4209/167

POPULATION, CUSTOMS AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

ETHNIC MINORITY SETTLEMENTS--Hanoi VNA February 4--In the past ten years, more than 21,000 people of ethnic minorities have settled in Phuoc Long District, Song Be Province, accounting for 85 per cent of the district's population of minority origins. The district has invested 14.2 million dong in reclaiming 820 hectares of virgin land for wet rice growing, build 125 kilometres of rural roads, 21 public facilities, 1,800 dwelling houses, wells and fish ponds. The new settlers have contributed millions of dong to building junior high schools for 4,000 pupils. Besides popularizing wet rice farming techniques to the new settlers, the district has helped them set up 41 production collectives and 23 agricultural cooperatives to boost food production. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0659 GMT 4 Feb 85 OW]

END

CSO: 4200/490